



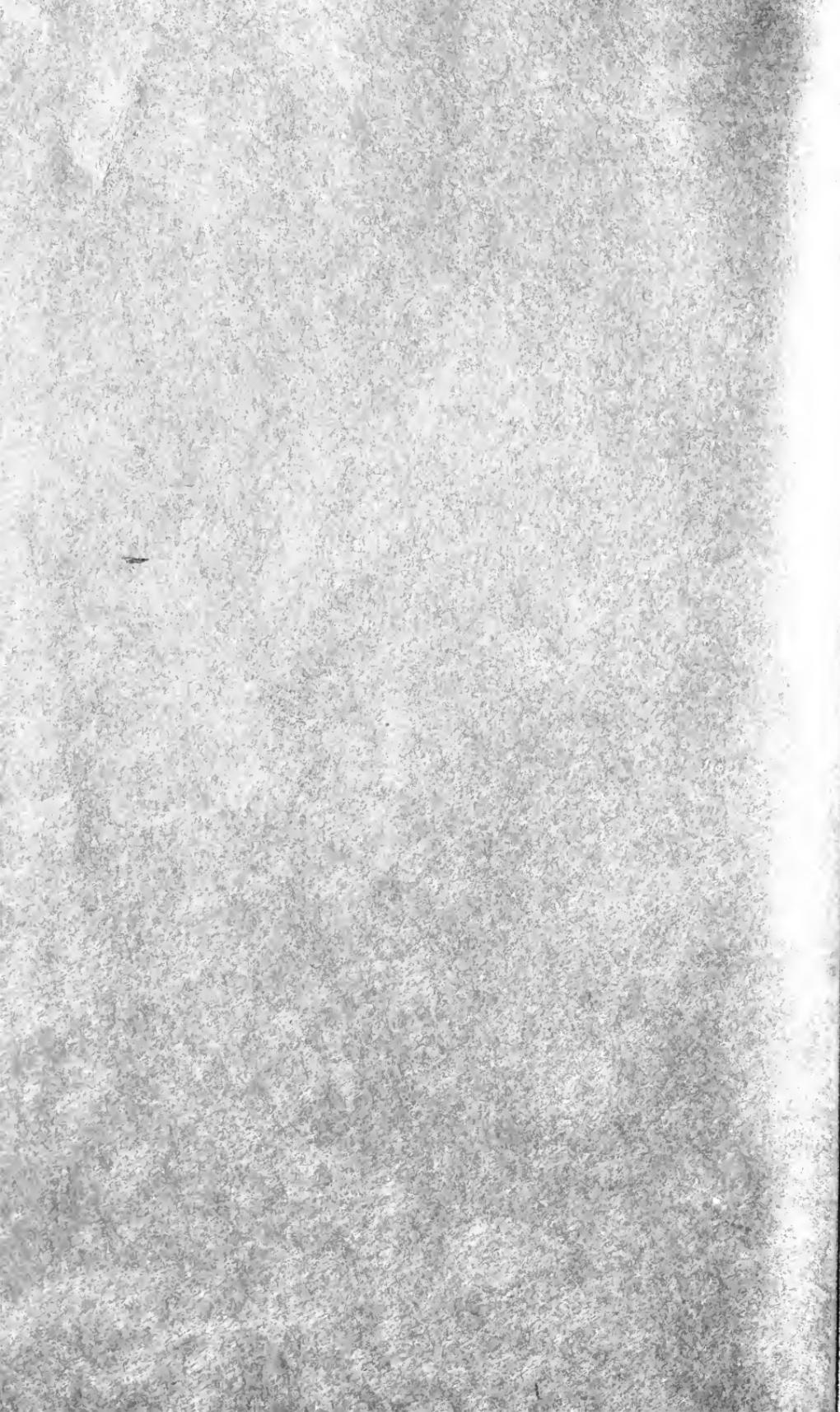


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I N D E X

The
American Child

VOL. IV. — Nos. 1 and 2

MAY, 1922—AUGUST, 1922

NOTE—Words printed in capitals indicate titles of articles

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

1230 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

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The American Child

Volume Four
Number One

MAY, 1922

Issued Quarterly
Price \$2 per Year

LEGISLATIVE NUMBER

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Entered as second-class matter, June 10, 1919, at the Post-office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in
Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 10, 1918.

THIS NUMBER FIFTY CENTS

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PRESS OF CLARENCE S. NATHAN, INC., NEW YORK.

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THE UNFINISHED TASK

"Children are at work who should be in school or at play; therefore let us outlaw their employment and keep them in school. The evidence for this legislation is partly physiological, partly educational, partly social. The evidence is all in and the case has long since been presented. There are no longer advocates of child labor. There are merely obstructionists and those who have not considered the evidence. There are children at work in the cotton fields, sugar-beet fields, and other agricultural occupations. There are unsettled questions about the employment of adolescents from 14 to 18. The constitutionality of federal legislation has still to be decided. But the central task for which the National Child Labor Committee was created in 1904—the conversion of public opinion of the nation to the idea that children under 14 should not be gainfully employed, may fairly be said to have been accomplished. Children under 14 are still employed, but it is known to be an anachronism and one which can probably be completely overcome only by the improvement of elementary education and attention to child welfare in general." So writes Dr. Edward T. Devine in his recent volume on "Social Work."

The unfinished task of child labor reform—in spite of the magnitude and importance of the past accomplishment—is far more difficult and extensive than would appear from any brief and casual survey.

Dr. Devine says that the evidence for child labor legislation "is partly physiological, partly educational, partly social. The evidence is all in and the case has long since been presented." This is true enough—within limits. But the nature of the pertinent evidence regarding child labor is not sufficiently indicated by the classification given. In part this evidence is psychological. It has to do with the effects of child labor on personality and char-

acter. It has to do with mental as well as physical development and health. Of course it might be said that such evidence comes under the heading "social," but so does physiological and educational evidence. Effects on the individual are social effects, whether they come in the form of injuries or deprivations—e.g., the deprivations of schooling or of play.

Only a beginning has yet been made in application of child psychology to the definition and understanding of child labor. Therefore it cannot truly be said that "the evidence is all in."

New evidence of a psychological nature is needed not only for its strengthening of the cumulative case against child labor, but because different kinds of evidence vary in appeal with different people and, what is still more significant, vary in applicability with different forms of child labor. It would be easy to exaggerate the psychological approach to the child labor problem. In current discussions of other social and economic problems it is often used with scant regard for its true implications or its limitations. But insofar as it yields, or can be made to yield, valid data leading to valid conclusions, it is by no means negligible. No mode of approach, no kind of evidence, is negligible so long as child labor continues to exist or people remain unconvinced of its existence. We need to obtain and utilize any and every kind of evidence.

As Dr. Devine remarks, "There are no longer advocates of child labor." But there are those who think that child labor is over. There are even those whom no amount of evidence will convince that child labor still flourishes—their opposition to reform can be overcome only by the force of an enlightened public opinion. But is not the present evidence sufficient to convince the convincible, if it can be put before them in such a way that they will really consider it? Yes, it is quite sufficient as evidence against child labor in general, but the fact is that child labor is not child labor in general. It takes particular forms. We have always found a multitude of people who emphatically oppose child labor in the abstract. People in the textile centers were sorry for the slate pickers in the coal breakers. People in the coal region were sorry for the child laborers of the tenements and the

city dwellers were sorry for the little textile workers in New England and the South. In fact when the evil could be regarded as a great, national evil either without definite form or at least in forms not familiar to the local community, there was plenty of moral conviction against it.

No further evidence is needed to convince people of the *evil* of child labor—that has been done. But what is child labor? In the particular form of employment in factories under the age of 14, the public is pretty well convinced that that is child labor. What about children in agriculture or in street trades? Here there is less conviction—and less accomplishment—and less evidence. Here the task is, in large measure, to change conviction. Agriculture and street work are thought by very many people to be good for children.

It all comes down to this: the public must be shown. Fact and argument must be presented without stint, leaving no loophole and no doubt. Tradition, custom, prejudice, ignorance, skepticism, individualism, inertia must be overcome. Moneyed power must be defeated. Regulation of street trades must meet the opposition of most of the newspapers. Regulation of industrialized agriculture must face the resistance of huge corporations. Fictions, lies and specious argument must be met by facts, facts, facts at every point, and the facts must have wide and constant publicity. Meanwhile the financial and publicity resources of the defenders of child labor—child labor even though they vehemently deny that it is child labor—are such that the advantage is on their side to the extent that any advantage accrues in the long run to the side that is not that of truth and humanity.

So it appears that in gathering and presenting evidence relating to child labor there must be regard not only for the different kinds of evidence (physiological, psychological, educational, etc.) but for the different kinds of child labor. Evidence against child labor in general does not get protection for children exploited in the moving pictures. Evidence against agricultural child labor in general does not get protection for children exploited in the beet fields—but evidence against child labor in the beet fields may open

the eyes of those who do not believe there is any such thing as *rural* child labor. Conditions in the beet fields are striking and sad enough to command attention when the facts are fully brought out. But the beet workers are not the only child laborers in agriculture whose protection waits on the gathering and presentation of more evidence than the considerable amount that has already been collected and disseminated—enough indeed to have convinced a large body of thoughtful men and women that over-work and exploitation of children in rural America constitutes a challenging national evil.

No, the evidence about child labor is not yet all in: nor will “the central task” of child labor reform be accomplished until child labor above the age of 14 as well as below, and in agriculture as well as in industry, has finally been wiped off the map of America. The “central task” is the complete abolition of child labor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Gwendolyn R. Cheever". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial 'G' on the left.

NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

Federal Law Declared Unconstitutional

On May 15th, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision declaring the federal child labor tax law unconstitutional. This decision places upon the membership the obligation to redouble its efforts to bring the backward states up to the standards of the invalid federal law—and beyond, for the federal law did not affect children in agriculture or a host of other occupations, nor did it impose an educational or physical requirement for employment certification.

In the next issue, we shall comment further on the situation which arises in consequence of this decision of the Court.

Purpose and Scope of the National Child Labor Committee

The purpose and scope of the work of the National Child Labor Committee may be summarized as follows:

1. To determine by means of accurate studies the extent and the causes of child labor in manufacturing and commercial industries and in agriculture.
2. To safeguard children against adverse conditions of labor in agriculture and industry.
3. To cooperate with all other interested agencies, organizations and institutions in the promotion of normal child development by increasing and enlarging the opportunities for education, for health and for recreation.
4. To assist in the fuller realization of these rights of childhood through better laws and through more enlightened practices on the part of government, industries and parents.

5. To create and foster an intelligent public opinion which will support these aims.

The central field of the work of the Committee is that of child labor in industry and agriculture. The problems, however, which it seeks to solve are complex and cannot be disassociated from general welfare problems, especially in methods of attack or of approach. For example, in considering child labor on the farm the Board recognizes that no solution can be reached except as agriculture is made profitable or rural life is made attractive and healthful. The approach to the solution of the farm child labor problem, therefore, must be broad and varied.

The purpose of our child labor activities is to secure to the child the opportunity for properly balanced, normal development. The child labor problem cannot, therefore, be separated from the educational: to protect the child without providing for his education is impracticable. Neither can it be separated from matters of hygiene, for industrial conditions are intimately related to the problem of health conservation.

Recreation is important both as a substitute for labor, for many parents put their children to work rather than have them idle on the street, and as a preventive of delinquency among employed children who do not know what to do with their free time. The Committee is therefore concerned with the relation between juvenile employment and delinquency for it finds that working children contribute far more than their share to the ranks of delinquents. Recreation for children must have some interest. If not employed and not in school, proper provision must be made for their recreation.

There must of necessity be close study of the relations of child labor to general welfare matters and an intimate cooperation with other agencies dealing with the welfare of the child.

The Committee's ideal is to secure for each child an opportunity for normal development through helpful legislation and properly directed and co-related educational, social and industrial activities affecting children; but it believes that in working towards this ideal it must continue to place the main emphasis on problems in the field of child labor and take them as points of departure.

Next National Child Labor Conference

The Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor will be held in Providence, R. I., June 27, in connection with the Forty-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.

The social work program runs from June 22d to 28th inclusive. A large number of leading organizations will hold meetings in Providence either immediately prior to or during the week of the National Social Work Conference Meeting. The Annual Meeting of the Conference draws to itself not only the large membership of the Conference, but members of a large number of organizations who select the time of the annual meeting of the Conference as the occasion for meetings of their organizations, and it is the presence of hundreds of members of Kindred Groups which adds greatly to the value of the annual meetings of the Conference. It is hoped that the National Child Labor Committee's membership will be very largely represented at Providence both at our own meeting and at the other meetings of the week.

The Providence Committee on Arrangements for the meeting of the National Conference of Social Work requests that those who are planning to attend and who desire hotel accommodations write as soon as possible for their hotel reservations to Mr. Arthur L. Aldred, "Gladding's," Providence, R. I. The Committee is making arrangements for the housing of delegates in private homes and boarding houses, as well as in hotels. It is expected that, as usual, convention passenger rates will apply on the railroads.

Following is the tentative program for the Providence meeting on child labor:

General Topic:—Children in Street Trades.

I. Present and Future Tasks of the National Child Labor Committee.....*Owen R. Lovejoy*

II. Description and analysis of conditions in cities of ten states:

In Chicago

Miss Anne Davis

In Philadelphia

Mr. Henry Gideon

In Massachusetts

Mrs. Kenneth E. Appel

In Alabama

Mrs. Loraine B. Bush

In Syracuse, N. Y.
 Mrs. Horace Eaton
In Cincinnati
 Mr. Maurice B. Hexter
In Dallas
 Mr. Elmer Scott
In Iowa and Michigan
 Miss Sara A. Brown
In North Carolina
 Professor E. C. Lindeman
In Yonkers, N. Y.
 Miss Anne Hill

- III. (a) Regulation of Street Trades *Wiley H. Swift*
(b) General Discussion of a Street Trades City Ordinance or
State Law
-

National Conference of Social Work

The next annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in the city of Providence, Rhode Island, June 22d to 29th. The Program Committee of the Conference in conjunction with the program committees of the various divisions has done everything possible to insure the formulation of a program of exceptional interest.

The subjects for General Session meetings are as follows:

1. The Changing Fundamentals of Social Work.
 The Family as a Factor in Social Evolution.
2. Neglected Fundamentals in Children's Work.
 (a) What Fundamentals Are Being Neglected?
 (b) The Superficial Character of Child-caring Work as a Whole.
3. The Law-breaker and Needed Improvements in His Treatment.
4. Underlying Concepts in the World Movement for Health.
5. The Future of a Community in an Industrial Civilization.
 (a) The Place of the Local Community in Organized Society.
 (b) The Effect of Modern Industry on Community Life.
6. The Functions of Public and Private Agencies in the Social Work of the Future.
7. Racial Diversities and Social Development.

In addition to these meetings, which are of interest to all members of the Conference regardless of the specific field of social service in which they are primarily interested, the Division on Children has arranged for the following program:

Section Meeting I

- (a) The General Status of Child Protective Agencies Throughout the United States.
- (b) The Relationship Between the Functions of the Juvenile Court and those of General Child-caring Agencies.

Section Meeting II

Joint Meeting with Inter-city Illegitimacy Conference.

- (a) How far should the Courts guarantee support orders for children of unmarried mothers?
- (b) How can we expect mothers to keep their children?
- (c) A study of adoption problems occurring with children of unmarried parents.

Section Meeting III

The Spiritual Values of Childhood.

- (a) The Religious Life of the Child.
- (b) The Ethical Values at which Children Naturally Arrive.
- (c) The Aesthetic Sensibilities of Children.

Section Meeting IV

- (a) What are the minimum qualifications for a good Juvenile Court?
- (b) What are the minimum qualifications of a good training school for delinquent boys?
- (c) What are the minimum qualifications of a good child-placing agency?

Section Meeting V

The School's Responsibility for the Leisure Time of the Child.

It is anticipated that the attendance of members of the Conference and others interested in social work will be exceptionally large this year as Providence is ideally situated as a convention city. There will be ample hotel and housing accommodations for all who desire to attend. The hotel headquarters for the Conference will be in the Hotel Biltmore. This hotel is now practically completed and will be one of the largest and finest hotels in New England.

Child Labor, National, Not Sectional

"Not only is labor obtained more cheaply in the southern states but the hours of labor are longer and child labor is permitted." So reads a recent editorial from the Bangor, Maine, *Commercial*. And in the great textile strike in Rhode Island one of the reasons advanced for the lengthening of the working day and the reduction of wages "is the necessity of meeting the competition of the southern cotton mills where child labor is largely employed."

The National Child Labor Committee protests against this disparagement of southern mills. In the following open letter to the

Bangor *Commercial*, under date of March 9, Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, wrote:

"On this point permit me to say that under the Federal Tax on Child Labor hours of labor of children in all mills are equalized throughout the country. No children under 16 are allowed to work in any textile mill for more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours a week, or at night. Were it not for this federal law some parts of New England would show a very unfavorable comparison with some parts of the South. For example: In Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee children under 16 are prohibited by the state law from working in mills more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, while in Maine such children may work 9 hours a day and 54 hours a week. In New Hampshire they may work $10\frac{1}{4}$ hours a day and 54 hours a week, while in Rhode Island they may work 10 hours a day and 54 hours a week. In Alabama a child under 16 cannot receive an employment certificate unless he has completed the 4th grade. Maine does a little better, requiring the completion of the 6th grade but Rhode Island offsets this advantage by requiring only the 'ability to read and write English.'

"These higher standards in southern states have been established since the enactment of the first Federal Child Labor Law and in some instances against stubborn opposition. It would be to the credit of New England if Maine and New Hampshire and Rhode Island would establish similar standards rather than rely on the federal government to drag them up to decent standards."

Legislation in Rhode Island

The Legislature of Rhode Island during its 1922 session devoted considerable of its time to consideration of social legislation. Several measures in this field were adopted by the Assembly.

Two bills having the support of the Consumers' League of Rhode Island and the National Child Labor Committee were introduced. One of these bills, providing for an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week for children under 16 years of age, working in any factory, manufacturing, mechanical, business, or mercantile establishment, died in committee. The present law limits the work of such children to 10 hours a day and 54 hours a week.

For many weeks the State has been in the grip of the greatest industrial strife of its history. The Assembly maintained the attitude that it should enact no legislation that might give either side an advantage in the present strife, or the stamp of approval, therefore it refused to endorse any measures affecting working hours or working conditions even for children.

The other bill, providing that a child, to secure a work permit, must be 14 years of age and be able to read and write simple English sentences and have completed a course of study equivalent to six yearly grades, was passed by both branches of the Assembly without a dissenting vote. The old law provided that, to secure a work permit, a child must be 14 years of age and be able to read and write simple English sentences. Each permit-issuing officer was the judge of the ability of the children who applied for such permits.

The most serious objection offered to the bill was that it was not necessary, as most children going to work, it was said, have finished the sixth grade. Those raising this objection, however, had no data to prove their contention—no record of this kind is kept by the Department of Education. This led to a study which showed facts quite contrary to the expressed views of those who raised the objection. The study revealed that at least 45 per cent of the children obtaining work permits in 1921 had not completed the sixth grade. In one of the large manufacturing towns of the State 69 per cent, and in another, 59 per cent of the children who secured permits had not completed the sixth grade.

This new law means that children must stay in school until they have completed the sixth grade or have become 16 years of age. The latest figures on issuance of work permits published by the Commissioner of Education are for the year 1919. During that year 8,153 work permits were issued to children 14 and 15 years of age. The school census gives 19,248 as the number of 14 and 15-year-old children in the State in that year. Work permits then were issued to 42.3 per cent of this age group.

The State Factory Inspector reports, for 1920, 7,243 and, for 1921, 4,815 children under 16 years of age working in establishments inspected by him. Of this decrease he says: "The number of children employed is the smallest since the year 1900 and the percentage of child labor is the lowest in the history of the department. The large decrease in the number of children employed can, undoubtedly,

be largely attributed to the Federal Child Labor Law, which forbids the employment of children under 16 years of age in manufacturing establishments more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week."

Employers and truant officers, however, express their opinion as being that this decrease of child employment is in a large measure due to industrial inactivity and that once industry gets on its feet there will be an increasing demand for child labor. This new state law was enacted at a very opportune time.

A bill providing for the appointment of a Director of Mothers' Aid and appropriating money to finance a study of dependency was also endorsed by the Assembly. The object of the study is to learn the approximate number of mothers who would be entitled to aid and the size of the appropriation that would be necessary to carry on such work. There is no mothers' pension law on the statute books at present, but it is anticipated that the result of this study will be the enactment of an intelligent legislation in 1923.

Legislation in Other States

A few important changes in child welfare legislation have been effected during the recent state sessions. Virginia has raised its compulsory school age and amended its child labor law to provide for an adequate employment certificating system.

Kentucky has adopted several constructive educational measures, and enacted into law a bill to create a Kentucky Child Welfare Commission to continue the work of the Children's Code Commission. Other measures passed permit juvenile courts to appoint volunteer probation officers, give the State Board of Charities and Correction exclusive control over minors committed to Houses of Reform, and make it a felony to desert a pregnant wife.

Maryland has established a new Bureau of Child Hygiene in the State Department of Health and has passed a law giving the State Board of Labor and Statistics authority to exercise vocational supervision over mentally retarded children from 14 to 18 years of age.

In Massachusetts child welfare legislation has made very little progress. An effort to repeal the 48-hour law was defeated, but all attempts to raise the compulsory school age and to regulate the

physical examinations required in employment certificates met the same fate, as did an amendment to increase the penalty for illegal employment of minors in dangerous trades.

In New Jersey, there was an unsuccessful attempt to put through a statewide street trades law. The New Jersey mothers' pension law was slightly amended.

In New York, the law regulating the age limit in specified occupations was amended to prohibit delivery work to girls under 18. The provision governing the return of work permits was also amended as well as the vacation permit and street-work permit regulations. The truant officers may now enforce the child labor law in addition to the newsboy law.

In Rhode Island, the educational requirements for the work permit were raised to the completion of the sixth grade, and the law providing for the appointment of a Director of Mothers' Aid and appropriating money to finance a study of dependency was passed.

Children on the Stage

Can the Pennsylvania child labor law prevent children from acting, is a question which has recently been widely discussed at a series of public hearings before the State Industrial Board. According to the terms of the Pennsylvania law, no child under 14 years can be gainfully employed in any occupation, or under 16 after 8 p.m. The Department of Labor and Industry has declared its intention of enforcing this law as applying to children on the stage, but leaves it in the hands of its Industrial Board to grant exemptions to "exceptional children."

Various state child welfare organizations and the National Child Labor Committee are standing back of a rigid enforcement of the child labor law. Theatrical managers, on the other hand, are bitterly opposed, and urge the immediate adoption of a licensing system. The matter is still unsettled.

Membership Notes

The Membership Department of the National Child Labor Committee takes this opportunity of acknowledging in the AMERICAN

CHILD its appreciation of the service of all local committees and of their individual members.

Among the recent receipts through local effort are:

Ridgewood, N. J., through Mrs. W. J. Berry, local treasurer, amounts totaling nearly	\$100
Summit, N. J., through Mrs. H. B. Twombly, local treasurer, over.....	200
Short Hills, N. J., through Mrs. Stuart Hartshorn, local treasurer, over	200
Glen Ridge, N. J., through Mrs. William H. Sayre, local treasurer, over	100
Montclair, N. J., through Miss Laura Lewis, local treasurer, over.....	500
Dayton, Ohio, through Mr. H. B. Canby, local treasurer, almost.....	500
St. Paul, Minn., through Mr. A. G. Driscoll, local treasurer, over.....	400
Staten Island, N. Y., through A. J. Wadhams, local treasurer, almost..	170
Detroit, Mich., through R. T. Cudmore, local treasurer, nearly.....	3,400

Forest C. Ensign, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., has been reappointed this year as local treasurer of Iowa City. In addition to sending out a letter appeal, Mr. Ensign and his committee are planning ways of reaching his city in a more thorough way than has before been attempted.

H. L. Sage, of Hackensack, N. J., is acting as local treasurer for Hackensack.

Others who have recently accepted local treasurer appointments are: Miss Helen Ammerman, New Bedford, Mass., Miss Mary Taylor Blauvelt, Hartford, Conn., Mrs. Lawrence A. Tanzer, Chairman of Civics Education, Westchester Woman's Club, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Dr. Herman L. Fairchild, University of Rochester, N. Y., a member of the Committee and friend of long standing, has sent in a list of 250 names of personal friends and acquaintances with the suggestion that we appeal to these people for membership in his name. Such personal contact is very valuable in our work. The Membership Department will appreciate it if other members will follow Dr. Fairchild's lead.

From the Kentucky branch of the National Child Labor Committee, through Mrs. Bernard Selligman, Treasurer, we have recently received memberships totalling \$431.

On April 1st the Membership Department enrolled its youngest member—Margaret McClellan of Illinois—aged *one day*. A friend of the organization sent Baby Margaret a membership in this Committee instead of flowers—a suggestion that we hope may establish a precedent to other well-wishers of the National Child Labor Committee.

In Michigan

As the May AMERICAN CHILD goes to press, the gratifying information comes from Michigan of the organization of membership committees for the National Child Labor Committee in Detroit, Kalamazoo County, Grand Rapids, Battle Creek, and Jackson. Plans for similar organizations are under way in Saginaw County, Ann Arbor, Albion, and Lansing.

Detroit leads the list with a report of \$5,000 already secured in pledges and subscriptions. The Detroit Committee is composed of Mrs. H. J. Maxwell Grylls, serving as chairman; Richard T. Cudmore, of the People's State Bank, as treasurer; Mrs. G. Leon Haywood, assistant treasurer; Mrs. M. P. Cogswell, Mrs. L. Edwards and Miss Phylissa Watts, secretaries; and an executive committee composed of the leaders in every important woman's organization in the city. This committee is reorganizing for permanent local and state work, as well as for continuing to develop interest in the membership of the National Committee.

The Grand Rapids membership work is sponsored by the Grand Rapids Child Labor Association, Mrs. Joseph W. Roche, President, through the appointment of a special committee on National Membership. The Kalamazoo County Branch of the National Child Labor Committee is working for National membership subscriptions with Mrs. S. Rudolph Light, chairman, Mrs. Anne B. Schanz, secretary, Miss Lily Phelps, of Kalamazoo National Bank, treasurer, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, chairman of speakers' committee, and Miss Trafford, chairman for township organization. Mrs. J. H. Myers has been appointed chairman of the Jackson Branch and Mrs. George D. Burch of the Battle Creek Branch.

The Kalamazoo, Michigan, branch of the National Child Labor Committee, established last month, is out for a \$2,000 quota in memberships. Mrs. S. B. Light is chairman, Mrs. Anna Schanz, secretary, and Miss Lily Phelps, treasurer.

Mrs. Edward J. Jeffries of Detroit is Michigan's State Chairman for the National Child Labor Committee. The Michigan State Executive Committee will consist of the chairman from each city.

It is hoped that the slogan "Ten thousand members in Michigan" will not only result in that strength for the National work, but in the strong public opinion needed to help the rural child situation in Michigan, and that the splendid example of Michigan's

organization for the National and state work, will be copied by every state in the Union.

Child Labor Day in Coblenz

Child Labor Day in America was celebrated this year with much spirit in Coblenz, Germany. The protagonists of the observance were the A. F. G.

The National Child Labor Committee membership campaign, beginning January 29th in Coblenz, was the inspiration of Captain Milton A. Lowenberg, Q. M. C., American Forces in Germany. When Captain Lowenberg, for long a member of this Committee, received a National Child Labor Committee appeal beginning "Child Labor Day in 1922 will be what you make it," he decided to make it, even in Germany. Immediately he dispatched a cable to New York asking the Committee to rush campaign literature.

Through Captain Lowenberg's membership campaign, which included publicity in the *Amaroc News*, the official newspaper of the American Forces in Germany, booths and bulletin board displays, over 200 officers, privates, nurses and doctors in the American unit in Coblenz joined the Committee. Nearly \$500 was subscribed in memberships. This was the largest cash return made by any city as a result of Child Labor Day observance.

Columbia Using "Rural Child Welfare"

Miss Mabel Carney, Professor of Rural Education in Teachers College, Columbia University, writes as follows about "Rural Child Welfare," a report and discussion by the field staff of the National Child Labor Committee:

"This is, in my judgment, a remarkable book on a vital subject, and one which deserves the widest publicity and attention. We are already using it here abundantly and I assure you that it will be a privilege to recommend it whenever possible."

Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College and of the American Country Life Association, says:

"I am very much impressed with the scope and quality of the report and congratulate you on it."

Professor Frank H. Hankins, head of the Department of Sociology, Clark University, writes:

"The book is very attractively gotten up and its contents are extraordinarily good. I think you are quite right in emphasizing the tremendous importance of play as the basis of the physical, intellectual and moral development of children. It is a natural and spontaneous expression of organic tendencies and character traits and I believe, with you, it is absolutely essential for normal development.

Professor E. C. Branson, head of the Department of Rural Sociology, University of North Carolina, has adopted "Rural Child Welfare" for use in his summer courses.

Nat T. Frame, Director of Agricultural Extension, West Virginia University, says: "We are hoping that a copy of 'Rural Child Welfare' will be read carefully by every extension worker, school teacher, Farm Bureau member, and other country life leaders in West Virginia."

Readers of the AMERICAN CHILD may secure copies of "Rural Child Welfare" at the special price of \$2. Address National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. See inside back cover of this issue of the AMERICAN CHILD for a description of the volume.

A Review of "Rural Child Welfare"

In *The Survey* for April 15th Miss Ruth Metzger writes of "Rural Child Welfare" as follows:

"City people who have always looked upon country life as an unmixed blessing for children are far from realizing the tremendous handicaps of rural childhood in communities where the more aggressive members have left the farms, or the tide of civilization has turned aside to follow the good roads and the railways. The National Child Labor Committee has done a bit of long needed investigation in the cause of children on the farms, choosing West Virginia as its field of activity. On account of the varied topography and soil this state presents a range of problems fairly representative of rural conditions all over the country. There are lonely mountain settlers who have intermarried in their isolation until ten feeble-minded children are found in one home; there are farm communities where the Four-H

clubs guided by state agents have brought families into co-operation and made it possible for boys and girls to attend the state agricultural college and spend part of their vacation in summer camps with other children. Between these extremes are many more aspects of farm life that need intelligent consideration by the people who form or influence the laws relating to child welfare, and by the people who actually live in rural districts.

"Under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, the author of *Child Labor in City Streets*, seven men and women have made this scientific study of the relations of the rural child to his home, school, community and state, and provided excellent and reliable material for practical purposes; presenting it, at the same time, in such form that a sympathetic picture is readily created by the reader. Laws relating to marriage, taxation, schooling, labor and delinquency are discussed, and the method of their enforcement with suggestions, for improvement given. Lewis W. Hine's photographs dramatize the story.

"Lack of mentality, lack of opportunity, lack of training, are primarily at the root of the farm families' misery. West Virginia is making an effort to do effective work along all three lines, partly through the Four-H clubs that help develop the head, the hand, the heart and the health of the child, and partly through state laws. But, as Mr. Clopper points out better days for the rural child are coming only when its parents realize that it should get a square deal, and at present this is not the case. 'Country people must bring about the dawn themselves,' he says, 'and they can do it if they will but look at the child's needs from the point of view of the child instead of from their own and then take action, partly individual and partly joint, that common sense dictates. They who would be saved must save themselves.' It is high time that this conception of the rights and importance of childhood penetrate to farm communities where idleness and play are still synonymous."

Child Labor in Serbia

The following comes from Dr. Rudolph R. Reeder, of the American Commission to Serbia: Aside from ignorance in health matters which our Commission is attempting to make headway against, the main problems of childhood seem to be (1) a dearth of educational

advantages, especially school houses and teachers, in which the girls suffer more than the boys; (2) lack of play in practically all forms, and (3) child labor. The last will be hard to do anything to alleviate as this is an agricultural country with about 95 per cent a peasant population. Children begin knitting and tending sheep when about five years old and gradually emerge into illiterate field workers and weavers. The women who work hardest have practically stopped using their brains and few of them seem capable of learning to care for a baby—hence a high infant mortality rate.

Child Nature, the Law and the Courts

In various issues of the AMERICAN CHILD we have published material showing the very large influence which the characteristic instincts and impulses of childhood exert in the causation of industrial accident. The psychological side of industrial accident to boys and girls is pretty well established. Besides playfulness there is curiosity and there is the general irresponsibility of children. There is also adolescent awkwardness. Many other factors operate. In the AMERICAN CHILD for February we had occasion to report a decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin involving the psychology of childhood and, by adherence to legal tradition and technicality, setting aside the award of the State Industrial Commission in the case of an injured minor.

We now have a decision* of the United States Supreme Court that suggests this same issue between child nature and draconian legalism. It seems that on the outskirts of Iola, Kansas, there is a tract of land about twenty acres in extent, upon which formerly there stood a plant for the making of sulphuric acid and zinc spelter. In 1910, the owner tore the building down but left a basement and cellar, in which, in July, 1916, there lay a body of water, clear in appearance but in fact dangerously poisoned by sulphuric acid and zinc sulphate that had come in one way or another from the owner's works. It appears that the owner knew of this water and of its poison character. A family, travelling through that country, encamped at some distance from the tract of land containing the poisoned pond. The children of this family, eight and eleven years

* United Zinc and Chemical Company, Petitioner, vs. Van Britt and Susie Britt. No. 164. October Term, 1921.

old, went upon the land and into the water, were poisoned and died. In the trial court, the next of kin of the children received a verdict and judgment which was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals but reversed March 27, 1922, by the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, though recognizing the existence of the so-called "humane doctrine" in cases involving "attractive nuisances," remarked that "infants have no greater right to go upon other people's land than adults, and the mere fact that they are infants imposes no duty upon landowners to expect them and to prepare for their safety." The Court declared that there existed no explicit or implied invitation to enter upon the property. "In the case at bar it is at least doubtful whether the water could be seen from any place where the children lawfully were and there is no evidence that it was that that led them to enter the land. But that is necessary to start the supposed duty. There can be no general duty on the part of the landowner to keep his land safe for children, or even free from hidden dangers, if he has not directly or by implication invited or licensed them to come there. . . . It is suggested that the roads across the place were invitations. A road is not an invitation to leave it elsewhere than at its end."

The decision was delivered by a six to three vote. Chief Justice Taft, Mr. Justice Day and Mr. Justice Clarke dissented, holding for the applicability of the "humane doctrine" in this case as against the so-called "hard doctrine." Mr. Justice Clarke wrote the dissenting opinion, in which he said:

"In 1873, in *Railroad Company v. Stout*, 17 Wall. 657, this court, in a turntable case, in a unanimous decision, strongly approved the doctrine that he who places upon his land, where children of tender years are likely to go, a construction or agency, in its nature attractive, and therefore a temptation, to such children, is culpably negligent if he does not take reasonable care to keep them away, or to see that such dangerous thing is so guarded that they will not be injured by it when following the instincts and impulses of childhood, of which all mankind has notice. The court also held that where the facts are such that different minds may honestly draw different conclusions from them, the case should go to the jury.

"Twenty years later the principle of this Stout case was elaborately re-examined and unreservedly affirmed, again in a unanimous decision in *Union Pacific Railway Company v. McDonald*, 152 U. S. 262. In each of these cases the contention that a child of tender years must be held to the same understanding of the law with respect to property rights as an adult and that therefore, under the circumstances of each, the child injured was

a trespasser, was considered and emphatically rejected. The attractiveness of the unguarded construction or agency, the temptation of it to children—is an invitation to enter the premises that purges their technical trespass. These have been regarded as leading cases on the subject for now almost fifty years and have been widely followed by state and federal courts,—by the latter so recently as 265 Fed. Rep. 192 and 271 Fed. Rep. 287. . . .

"Believing as I do that the doctrine of the Stout and McDonald cases, giving weight to, and making allowance, as they do, for the instincts and habitual conduct of children of tender years, is a sound doctrine, calculated to make men more reasonably considerate of the safety of the children of their neighbors, than will the harsh rule which makes trespassers of little children which the court is not substituting for it, I cannot share in setting aside the verdict, of the jury in this case, approved by the judgments of two courts, upon what is plainly a disputed question of fact and in thereby overruling two decisions which have been accepted as leading authorities for half a century, and I therefore dissent from the judgment and opinion of the court."

The decision of the Supreme Court has a good deal of significance for all who are concerned in securing for children the rights of children. The rights of children, legal and other, are founded ultimately on humanely natural instincts, impulses, desires, and needs.

Joint Committee on Prevention of Delinquency

The Commonwealth Fund of New York has recently announced plans for a five-year, nation-wide demonstration of methods for the prevention of delinquency. The New York School of Social Work, the Public Education Association of New York operating through a recently organized National Committee of Visiting Teachers, and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, together with the newly created Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency will cooperate in the demonstration.

The program is based upon the belief that maladjustment in childhood is a predisposing cause of adult delinquency and that delinquency can be more successfully handled when first indications of something wrong appear than later when the pattern is set. Studies conducted by psychiatrists attached to courts and penal institutions indicate that a majority of the individuals they examine have from early childhood shown abnormalities of conduct which are recognized as such by their families and their associates and the evidence seems to show that in many such cases early diagnosis

and treatment might have altogether prevented any serious wrongdoing. Effort will, accordingly, be centered on the child of public school age.

The New York School of Social Work has established a psychiatric clinic, known as the Bureau of Children's Guidance, under the directorship of Dr. Bernard Glueck, to which problem children from certain public schools in New York City are being sent for thorough study and treatment. Students from the School of Social Work, and the visiting teachers whom the Public Education Association has placed in each school reached by the Bureau, will provide the field service for the clinic.

The Commonwealth Fund has offered fifteen scholarships of \$1,200 each at the New York School of Social Work, which will be awarded annually by a committee consisting of the directors of the School of Social Work, the Commonwealth Fund, and the Bureau of Children's Guidance, to persons desiring to fit themselves for work as visiting teachers, probation officers, or psychiatric social workers.

The National Committee on Visiting Teachers plans within the next three years to place visiting teachers in at least 30 cities in which this particular form of social service has not hitherto been available. Two-thirds of the salaries of these teachers will be paid over a period of three years by the Commonwealth Fund, and one-third by the community making application. Choice of places for the demonstration will be made and teachers will be chosen and supervised by the National Committee on Visiting Teachers. Miss Jane Culbert, staff executive of visiting teachers for the Public Education Association, will be field representative of the Committee.

The third cooperating agency, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has created a new division on the Prevention of Delinquency, of which Dr. V. V. Anderson has been made director, which will demonstrate the value of psychiatric clinics in juvenile courts by sending out to courts requesting it, a travelling clinic staffed with a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a psychiatric social worker. One clinic of this sort is already at work in the St. Louis Juvenile Court. The psychiatric work in the Monmouth County Demonstration of Child Welfare is also under the direction of this Division.

The Joint Committee on Delinquency, under the directorship

of Arthur W. Towne, has been formed to coordinate the activities of the three agencies sharing in the program and to analyze and publish the results of their work and of other activities in the same field. Miss Mabel Brown Ellis, formerly with the National Child Labor Committee, is now a special representative with the Joint Committee.

The Commonwealth Fund has made an initial appropriation of \$165,950 for the expenses of the first year and plans to carry on the work for at least five years. It will not necessarily confine itself to the program as here outlined, but may consider other constructive means of demonstrating the possibility of decreasing the volume of adult delinquency by better understanding and wiser treatment of the school child.

Negro Women in Tobacco Factories

In a study of eighty-five of the negro women working in the tobacco factories of Virginia, made by Emma L. Shields of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, cases were found where these women had gone to work between the ages of 8 and 12; had rehandled tobacco (entailing breathing of quantities of dust and moving heavy weights) for thirty years or more, going to work at 6:30 A.M. even in winter, and returning at 7 P.M., very often; worked for considerable stretches 10 hours a day and 55 hours a week, and got only \$11 or \$12 for all this drudgery.

Twenty-one of the eighty-five women had never gone to school, twelve of them dropped out in the second grade, seven left in the third, twenty-one went no further than the fourth grade, and only three finished high school. In season, 72 per cent earned less than \$12, 19 per cent less than \$9, and only one woman received over \$16. These women had been tobacco workers for periods ranging from six months to forty-two years. Thirteen women had worked more than thirty years. Over 42 per cent had been working since 12 years of age or younger. At the time of the study, 58 per cent were working a 55-hour week, 38 per cent a 50-hour week. There was also frequent overtime work so that the working week was often much longer.

As for home conditions, 66 per cent had to take complete care of their homes themselves; and 30 per cent attended to their homes

before and after work. Many of them are not only handicapped by lack of funds but by their manifold duties of earning money, keeping house and caring for the sick members of the family. The mothers send their children to work just as soon as the law allows. Some of the results of this sort of family life are summed up by Miss Shields:

"Life in each generation was bounded on all sides by the same influences. In the factory, nothing elevating or improving was afforded the workers; home influences were no better, for the wages were so low that the workers were forced to select the poorest of homes in localities so undesirable and unhealthful that the environment naturally would react on the lives of the persons within it. There thus resulted a class consciousness among those workers, which was expressed in their suspicion of other groups, their concentration on their own interests and their maladjustment to the communities in which they lived."

Health Examination of Working Children

The Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries is publishing a form for use in the examination of children applying for employment certificates. This form covers the main points given in the one recommended by the Children's Bureau, but is much less detailed. The Department recommends that school physicians assigned to examining children for health certificates use this schedule. Copies will be furnished on application.

At the present time there is no standard form for this purpose in use in the State. A few physicians have their own records; but in the majority of instances no form is used, so no permanent record is kept. It is important that the results of the examination should be recorded and kept on file in the office from which the employment certificate is issued. By this means it is possible, when the child returns for another certificate, to check the examination with the result of the previous one, to ascertain whether defects noted at the former time have been corrected, and to secure some information as to the effect of the work on the child's health.

A standard form for all issuing offices is desirable, in order that there may be greater uniformity in practice throughout the State, and in order to insure that the examination made covers all the essential requirements. It is hoped that the use of the proposed schedule

will assist in bringing about these results and will secure a more thorough and careful examination of children applying for employment certificates than is the case at the present time. The Department is also preparing a handbook explaining the procedure in issuing employment and health certificates and badges for street trades. This will contain a section on the health certification of working children, with reproduction of the new forms.

Child Health Demonstration

The Child Health Demonstration, under the auspices of the National Child Health Council, of which the National Child Labor Committee is a member, is proceeding according to plans already described in the *AMERICAN CHILD*. The locality selected was Mansfield, Ohio, with Richland County, of which Mansfield is the county seat. The Council chose as director of the demonstration, Dr. Walter H. Brown, who began work in October, 1921. The staff on January 1, 1922, consisted of a statistician, a nurse, and a health education director.

An Advisory Council, representing the leading professional, business and labor groups in the community, has been formed, to assume the community's responsibility for its part in this national experiment. Among those who have joined forces in cordial support of this undertaking are the Board of Health, the Medical Society, the dentists, the various social agencies, the schools, the hospitals, and, in fact, all agencies and organizations which can assist in an active or advisory capacity. The appointment by the Board of Education of a staff member of the demonstration as director of health education in the public schools and similar close relationships with the county educational authorities are examples of the excellent co-operation developed so far.

One of the next important steps will be a fairly comprehensive study of health conditions in the city and county.

Survey in Erie County, New York

That there should be better relations between the field representatives of national organizations who serve the communities and states of the nation has been a patent fact for some time but hitherto

little has been done about it. In recent years, however, there has been a marked broadening and extension of the activities and contacts of many national associations and agencies. This has made it increasingly important, from the point of view of both the communities served and of state and national organizations, that this difficult question of co-ordination in field work shall receive practical consideration. The organizations composing the National Child Health Council welcome particularly the interest of state and local representatives in this problem, and believe that the whole matter should be studied in the light of the community's own needs.

In Erie County, New York, at the instance of the National Child Health Council, a step was recently taken toward the development of a valid plan of field co-ordination. Seven national and two state agencies joined, in December, 1921, over a period of two weeks, in a co-operative inquiry into conditions relating to child health. This was undertaken upon the joint invitation of practically every public and private agency interested in the health of children of Erie County and with the friendly co-operation of the State Departments of Health and Education. This study has been completed and a tentative report of it has been prepared. It is primarily directed to the purpose of assisting in the development of strong and correlated efforts for meeting local problems relating to the health of children. It was not intended as an exhaustive or even a thoroughly comprehensive survey. The fact that it was carried out with the successful co-operation of the organizations participating in it is one of the chief points of interest from the standpoint of national co-ordination. It is a first step in plans for the development of the best methods of relating national organizations to one another and to state agencies in their service, in the interests of the local communities.

BREVITIES

Active preparations are under way for the meeting in Rio de Janeiro, of the Third Pan-American Congress of Child Welfare, which will take place August 27th to September 5, 1922, in connection with the official program commemorating the centenary of Brazilian independence. It should be noted that the sessions of the First Brazil-

ian Child Welfare Convention will be held conjointly with those of the Pan-American Congress.—*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, April, 1922.*

Social service now has a professional organization in the American Association of Social Workers, 130 East 22d Street. Since the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee last spring the members of this Association, formerly the National Social Workers Exchange, have been developing a program similar in purpose to that of the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association and the Engineering societies. Between fifteen and thirty thousand people in the United States are engaged in some kind of professional social service.

In the Year Book and Annual Report of the Playground and Recreation Association of America appear some interesting "Recreation Facts," referring to the year 1921: 502 cities report 4,584 centers under paid leadership; the largest number since the Year Book has been published. Eleven thousand and seventy-nine workers were employed to direct play at these centers. Fifty-one cities report playgrounds and recreation centers established for the first time. Two hundred and forty-four cities report work supported entirely by municipal funds. Fifty-three cities report playgrounds donated; eighteen of this number placing the value of the property at \$1,182,700. Nearly \$9,000,000 was spent for recreation by 458 cities.

A large group of men and women prominent in social work and public affairs attended on April 25th a dinner given as a tribute to Dr. S. Josephine Baker, who has headed the Bureau of Child Hygiene in the New York City Department of Health since the creation of the Bureau in 1908. Miss Lillian D. Wald concludes a sketch and appreciation of Dr. Baker in *The Survey* with these words: "It is pleasant to record the importance of the task accomplished and the quality of the service rendered by Dr. Baker, and the recognition of it at this time when her ardor is unabated and her vigor undiminished—when we can hopefully anticipate twenty more years (at least) of service to the children and through them a brighter future."

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the New York State Charities Aid Association will be observed by meetings in New York City May

11th and 12th. Colonel Homer Folks, Vice-Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, has been Secretary of the Association for twenty-nine years.

Raymond G. Fuller, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, has been appointed a member of the special committee on rural school attendance, Department of Rural Education, National Education Association.

An increase of 8 per cent in the average daily school attendance throughout the State of Pennsylvania and of 3.67 per cent in regularity of attendance as compared with the records of last year is reported by the director of the attendance bureau of the Department of Public Instruction. This is due to better enforcement of the compulsory education laws.—*Pittsburgh Press, March 26, 1922.*

An inquiry into the conditions of labor for young workers from 15 to 18 years of age and the adequacy of existing provisions for their physical, intellectual, and moral development, is to be made by the Finnish Parliament. The object of the inquiry is to obtain data with a view to legislative measures for the protection of young persons.—*Industrial and Labour Information, International Labour Office, March 10, 1922.*

A National Child Labor Committee benefit, including an artists' concert, bazaar and tea in the afternoon and a dance with specialties in the evening was arranged at the Carroll Club, New York City, for April nineteenth. The Club was turned over to the Committee for the entire day through the courtesy of Mrs. Evelyn Tobey, Director. The artists giving their services for the afternoon's program were: Miss Julia Arthur, in recitations; Madame Alma Clayburgh, soprano; Miss Beatrice Herford, in monologues; Mr. Bronislaw Huberman, violin; Miss Esther Rhoades, harp; Miss Dorothy Smoller, dance; and Miss Laurette Taylor, with her leading man, Mr. Frank Thomas, in a "One Word Sketch." At the dance in the evening, Miss Smoller and Miss Rhoades appeared again. Patronesses of the Concert and Dance were: Mrs. Schuyler Warren, Chairman; Mrs. Harold Henderson, Mrs. Charles T. Hirsch, Mrs. Outerbridge Horsey, Mrs. John D. Ryan, Mrs. Elisha Walker, Mrs. C. B. Wyatt.

A special matinee performance of "Aïda" was given at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, on Thursday, April 6, as a benefit for the National Child Labor Committee. The title role of the opera was sung by Claudia Muzio, Manuel Salazar sang the role of Radames, Jeanne Gordon took the part of Amneris, and Giuseppe De Luca sang Amonasro.

Immediate work for the Sheppard-Towner Act in every state of the Union is to be the principal work on Child Welfare of the National League of Women Voters in the coming year. State measures which will be worked for in states which are ready for such action will be in harmony with the recommendations of the "Minimum Standards for Child Welfare" adopted by the Children's Bureau Conference of 1919, with particular emphasis upon state school attendance and child labor laws.

PRAYER

God though this life is but a wraith,
Although we know not what we use,
Although we grope with little faith,
Give me the heart to fight—and lose.

Ever insurgent let me be,
Make me more daring than devout;
From sleek contentment keep me free,
And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

Open my eyes to visions girt
With beauty, and with wonder lit—
But let me always see the dirt,
And all that spawn and die in it.

Open my ears to music; let
Me thrill with Spring's first flutes and drums—
But never let me dare forget
The bitter ballads of the slums.

From compromise and things half done,
Keep me, with stern and stubborn pride,
And when, at last, the fight is won,
God keep me still unsatisfied.

—Louis Untermeyer.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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INTERNATIONAL CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

RAYMOND G. FULLER

The third general conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations was held at Geneva last fall. We have received the official texts of the draft conventions which were adopted and bore reference to the employment of children. These draft conventions will be submitted for ratification to the legislatures of the several countries comprising the League of Nations, and will come into force, as between the ratifying nations, at the day on which the ratification of two member nations of the International Labor Organization have been registered by the Secretary-General.

One of the most interesting and significant of the draft conventions adopted at Geneva is that concerning the admission of children to employment in agriculture.

Article I provides as follows: "Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours of school attendance. If they are employed outside the hours of school attendance, the employment shall not be such as to cause prejudice to their attendance at school."

Articles II and III read: "For the purpose of practical vocational instruction the periods of the hours of school attendance may be so arranged as to permit the employment of children on light agricultural work and in particular on light work connected with the harvest provided that such employment shall not reduce the total annual period of school attendance to less than eight months."

"The provisions of Article I shall not apply to work done by children in technical schools, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority."

The Labor Conference also adopted several "recommendations" relating to agriculture. One of them is: "That each Member of the International Labor Organization endeavor to develop vocational agricultural education and in particular to make such education

available to agricultural wage-earners on the same conditions as to other persons engaged in agriculture."

The Conference further recommended:

"I. That the Members of the International Labor Organization take steps to regulate the employment of children under the age of 14 years in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to insure to them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than 10 consecutive hours.

"II. That the Members of the International Labor Organization take steps to regulate the employment of young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 years in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to insure to them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than 9 consecutive hours.

Also—"That each Member of the International Labor Organization take measures to insure to women wage-earners employed in agricultural undertakings protection before and after childbirth similar to that provided by the Draft Convention adopted by the International Labor Conference at Washington for women employed in industry and commerce, and that such measures should include the right to a period of absence from work before and after childbirth and to a grant of benefit during the said period, provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance."

A draft convention was adopted fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers on vessels:

"Article I. For the purpose of this Convention, the term 'vessel' includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned; it excludes ships of war.

"Article II. Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.

"Article III. The provisions of Article II shall not apply:

(a) to work done by young persons on school-ships or training-ships, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority;

(b) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;

(c) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age, who if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in the costal trade of India and of Japan, subject to regulations made after consultation with the most representative organizations of employers and workers in those countries.

"Article IV. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than eighteen years of age only are available, such young persons may be employed, and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.

"Article V. In order to facilitate the enforcement of the provisions of this Convention, every shipmaster shall be required to keep a register of all persons under the age of eighteen years employed on board his vessel, or a list of them in the articles of agreement, and of the dates of their births."

Still another of the draft conventions adopted provides that:

"The employment of any child or young person under 18 years of age on any vessel other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed, shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

"The continued employment at sea of any such child or young person shall be subject to the repetition of such medical examination at intervals of not more than one year, and the production, after each such examination, of a further medical certificate attesting fitness for such work. Should a medical certificate expire in the course of a voyage, it shall remain in force until the end of the said voyage.

"In urgent cases, the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of 18 to embark without having undergone the examination provided for in Articles II and III of this Convention, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone at the first port at which the vessel calls."

It will be remembered that, at the second International Labor Conference, held at Genoa in 1920, a draft convention was adopted providing that: "Children under the age of 14 years shall not be employed or work on vessels other than vessels upon which only

members of the same family are employed." This restriction was not to apply to work done by children on school-ships or training-ships if such work were approved and supervised by public authority.

In Washington in 1919, where the first International Labor Conference was held, a draft convention was adopted applying to the admission of children in industrial undertakings: "Children under the age of 14 years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed." The term "industrial undertaking" was lengthily defined in the draft convention, which was published in full in the AMERICAN CHILD for November, 1919. Incorporated in the provisions of the Convention were several special modifications applying separately to Japan and to India.

The Washington Conference adopted a draft convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry, providing that—"Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, except as hereinafter provided for.

"Young persons over the age of sixteen may be employed during the night in the following industrial undertakings on work which by reason of the nature of the process, is required to be carried on continuously day and night:

- (a) Manufacture of iron and steel; processes in which reverberatory or regenerative furnaces are used, and galvanizing of sheet metal or wire (except the pickling process).
- (b) Glass works.
- (c) Manufacture of paper.
- (d) Manufacture of raw sugar.
- (e) Gold mining reduction work."

There was also a recommendation that, "in view of the danger involved to the function of maternity and to the physical development of children, women and young persons under the age of eighteen years be excluded from employment" in certain enumerated processes involving the danger of lead poisoning.

The following members of the League of Nations have passed acts providing for the ratification of, or giving effect to, the Wash-

ington draft convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment: British Columbia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Greece, Roumania.

The Washington Convention relating to night work of young persons has been adopted by: British Columbia, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Greece, Roumania.

Bills are known to have been introduced providing for the ratification or giving effect to both of these Washington draft conventions in Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland. Germany has a bill fixing the minimum age in accordance with the draft convention, and Poland a bill concerning night work of young persons. Some of these countries have adopted one or both of these draft conventions, but their action had not, at last accounts, been officially reported to the office of the International Labor Organization.

Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Sweden have passed measures ratifying or giving effect to the Genoa draft convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea. Bills designed to the same end have been introduced in France, Poland, the Netherlands and India. (We are using the terms "bill" and "introduced" in a generic sense to indicate the initial steps in the various countries toward the formal and final ratifications of the Conference.)

It should be noted that although the first International Labor Conference was held in Washington and the International Labor Office has an American correspondent (Mr. Ernest Greenwood, 618 Seventeenth Street, Washington), the United States is not a member of the League of Nations and therefore, of course, does not participate in the affairs of the International Labor Organization as a member nation. Quite apart from the question of membership in the League of Nations, if it is a question now, America's participation in international labor agreements is subject to serious limitations due to our form of government—both constitutional and traditional limitations. In all our agreements with other nations, we must act as a nation; but in labor legislation we commonly, and for the most part necessarily, act as separate states. We are not sure of the constitutionality of the federal child labor law—and if it stands the test, it sets up only a few standards for only a few occupations, going about as far, however, as circumstances permit.

NOTABLE GAINS IN NEW YORK'S CHILD WELFARE LAWS

GEORGE A. HALL

The record of the New York Legislature of 1922 was a significant one with respect to child-welfare legislation as well as in other ways. Two factors entered into the adoption of an unusual amount of forward-looking legislation relating to children. First and foremost, credit should be given to the continuous personal attention shown by Governor Miller to legislation of this character. His unflagging interest in constructive measures to improve the condition of the children of the state, particularly those found under unfortunate conditions, was an inspiration to the legislators and to all having to do with these child-welfare bills. In his message to the legislature early in January, Governor Miller in clear-cut and definite manner outlined a specific program of such legislation, practically all of which was passed.

Another factor entering into the enactment of important children's laws at the recent session was the activity of the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare.* Acting in close co-operation with the Governor, this Commission was responsible for the drafting of some of the more important bills enacted. Other measures drafted by officials or by groups connected with work for children were adopted by the Commission as a part of its program. Of the twelve bills fathered by this Commission of which Senator Charles W. Walton is Chairman, all were passed by the senate and five by both houses. The remainder were unfortunately killed by the rules committee of the assembly during the closing days of the session.

THE CHILDREN'S COURT ACT

Perhaps the most important of the new laws, because of its far-reaching effect, is the children's court act. This measure, drafted

*Copies of Preliminary Report of the Commission to the legislature of 1922, may be obtained on application to the Executive Secretary, 137 East 22nd St., New York City.

by the Child Welfare Commission, provides for the establishment of county children's courts to hear cases of child offenders and neglect.

For years an increasing amount of dissatisfaction has been noticeable among those especially concerned with helping delinquent and neglected children because of the failure of the present court machinery in up-state counties to meet adequately their needs. Especially has this been true in the rural sections of the state where such children are brought before local justices of the peace. At the present time more than thirty-seven hundred of these courts have the power to take children from their homes and commit them as public charges.

While sometimes one finds among these officials men who show a sympathetic and constructive interest in the children arraigned before them, unfortunately such justices are the exception rather than the rule. Official and private investigations have conclusively indicated the unfitness of many of them to handle the delicate situations involved in the trial of children charged with delinquency or who lack proper guardianship. Most of these justices are untrained in the law and lack the qualifications needed in officials upon whom rests the responsibility of working out a plan for providing for some neglected child or for one who has gone wrong less through any fault of his own than through the failure of the community to meet properly his natural desires for self expression.

Three counties of the State—Monroe, Ontario and Chautauqua—became sufficiently aroused over the inadequacy of such a system to obtain, through special legislation, authority to establish county children's courts. Under these laws, while children may be arrested and brought before a justice of peace or a police court justice as before, he must at once transfer such cases to the county children's court.

Both the Governor and the Child Welfare Commission recommended the enactment of a law giving other counties the benefit of similar children's courts. Indeed, such action was felt to be incumbent upon the legislature in view of the overwhelming vote last November approving the constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to enact laws to permit the establishment of separate children's courts with broad equity powers. The Commission bill, which became a law (chapter 547 of the laws of 1922) provides, in brief, that separate children's courts shall be established in all coun-

ties outside the city of New York, Buffalo and Syracuse, and also outside the counties now operating under special acts. A judge must be chosen at the next general election as children's court judge unless the board of supervisors certifies that the county judge will be able to take over the added duties. The court is given jurisdiction over all neglected and delinquent children, and over adults who contribute to the delinquency of children. It also is to have the same jurisdiction as is now vested in county courts over bastardy proceedings, in the appointment of guardians and in adoption proceedings. Complete machinery is provided for setting up a separate children's court, including the probation service so necessary to insure its success. In general, the court is similar to the courts now in operation in the three counties mentioned, but the bill provides additional highly desirable powers and privileges not granted those courts.

As Governor Miller well stated in his message to the legislature in January: "The vote on the constitutional amendment was an expression of public disapproval of the present system or lack of system of dealing with neglected and delinquent children. Juvenile delinquency should be dealt with in accordance with the condition and needs of the child, not under the penal law or in accordance with the rules of criminal procedure." The enactment of the Commission bill on the subject marks a long step forward in making possible proper treatment of child offenders and neglected children in all portions of the state.

CHANGES IN POOR RELIEF SYSTEM

An important change also was made in the law governing the administration of mothers' allowances. Since 1915 such allowances have been administered generally by county boards of child welfare. At the present time such boards grant these allowances in forty-seven counties, but in Dutchess and Suffolk counties they are administered through boards of child welfare handled under special statute and in Westchester county they are handled under special statute through its department of public welfare as a part of its child-caring work. Boards of child welfare appointed in eleven counties are unable to grant allowances for lack of appropriations, and in one county no board has been appointed.

Information submitted to the Child Welfare Commission indi-

cated that there was a growing demand in favor of unifying the care of various classes of children in need of public aid. Instead of administering relief to the poor through county superintendents of the poor and town overseers of the poor, mothers' allowances through boards of child welfare and other forms of public aid through still different agencies, it was felt that these lines of similar activity should be combined under one agency. Especially was this feeling strong on the part of county boards of supervisors which provide funds for these agencies. A merger of these interests has already been tried out in two counties—Dutchess and Suffolk—where a new type of child welfare board assumes the care of all dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children in need of public assistance, outside of the courts.

Governor Miller, in the message previously mentioned, urged attention to this subject in the following language: "Our laws dealing with dependent children are in a chaotic condition. There are 1,238 town, county and city officials having jurisdiction over children. More than 20,000 children come in one way or another under the jurisdiction of the poor law officials each year. The powers and duties of such officials are not clearly defined."

The Commission was a unit in favor of combining under one agency at least a portion of the duties relating to dependent children. Conferences with officials of existing county child-welfare boards, poor law officials and other interested agencies, showed much difference of opinion with respect to how far it was wise to go at this time towards unifying the county care of all dependent children and with respect to the agency which should assume these duties.

After extensive consideration of the entire subject, the Commission determined that it would be unwise at present to set up a new agency for this work, and therefore recommended that the county boards of child welfare be given additional powers which should include the duties now exercised by poor law officials in relation to the care of dependent children who become public charges, and also the authority to receive children who may be committed by the court. The Commission regards the enactment of this bill (chapter 546 of the laws of 1922) as a first step in the logical unification of all such activities in each county. While a permissive statute, in harmony with the recommendation of the Governor, it is believed that the law offers an effective opportunity for trying out the new plan.

DEAF AND DUMB CHILDREN

Both Governor Miller and the Child Welfare Commission were impressed with the anomalous situation found in the existing law governing the granting of public aid to deaf and dumb children and therefore recommended remedial legislation on this subject. Under provisions of the education law, prior to the last session of the Legislature, deaf and dumb children otherwise eligible could be educated in institutions at state expense only after reaching the age of twelve. Those under twelve years of age, if they were to be given the advantages of such educational facilities as their condition required, in one of the private institutions established for that purpose, must be granted their appointment as county charges by local poor law officials. This distinction appeared to the Commission manifestly an unnecessary discrimination and a more just arrangement seemed to be that deaf and dumb children should be made as the blind children now are—the specific beneficiaries of the state for educational purposes without regard to age. A bill was drafted in harmony with the views of the state department of education and the state board of charities, and approved by the Commission (chapter 327 of the laws of 1922). It provides that hereafter deaf and dumb children five years of age and upward shall be eligible for appointment as state pupils at state expense in one of the institutions authorized by law for the deaf and dumb.

ISSUANCE OF EMPLOYMENT PAPERS

It will be recalled that the legislature of 1921 transferred the duty of issuing employment certificates to children from local health officers to the school authorities, and provided detailed procedure to govern the manner in which this work should be done. In the administration of this law by school officials, certain defects were found which needed to be corrected. The department of labor also pointed out provisions which in its opinion militated against efficient inspection work by that department. After conference between officials of the state departments interested, and with representatives of private organizations particularly concerned with this subject, amendments were adopted to correct these defects which will, it is believed, materially aid in making the law work more smoothly.

Under the new law (chapter 464 of the laws of 1922), the present procedure for issuing employment certificates is changed, so that all

the preliminaries for obtaining an employment certificate must be met before the child goes to the prospective employer for a pledge of employment and only the bare issuance of the certificate remains to be done.

A new employment certificate for agricultural work only may be issued in the name of the child instead of in the name of the employer and may be used for successive employers, each of whom is required to endorse on the back of the certificate the beginning and ending of the term of employment and the character of work performed by such minor. A similar new provision applies to vacation certificates which are limited to a period of not more than five months.

OTHER MEASURES PASSED

Considering bills affecting children introduced from other sources, the administration measure to safeguard motherhood and protect the health of infants and children is of outstanding importance (chapter 402 of the laws of 1922). This bill, frankly advocated by Governor Miller as an offset to a similar proposal which was drawn to enable New York State to participate in the benefits of the Sheppard-Towner federal maternity aid law, was prepared to authorize the state department of health to conduct an extensive campaign on this subject independent of federal funds and supervision. The law appropriates \$130,000 which, with the \$30,000 previously granted in the budget of the state department of health for child hygiene purposes, will place at the disposal of the health department the same amount of money which might have accrued through participation in the Sheppard-Towner law. The present bureau of child hygiene in the department of health is merged in a new division of maternity, infancy, and child hygiene. Among its powers and duties the law provides that the division shall exercise the following:

Making surveys and studies of local conditions influencing the health of mothers and children.

Advising localities as to providing adequate care of mothers and infants, and children to whom such care is not otherwise available.

Holding health consultations for mothers and children in the rural districts in co-operation with local health officers and other physicians.

Instructing local public health nurses in the hygiene of maternity and infancy.

Making available to mothers through instruction by physicians, nurses and publications, information concerning the hygiene of maternity and infancy.

Supervision and training of midwives.

Prevention of blindness in infancy.

The care and rehabilitation of crippled children not otherwise provided for.

Public instruction by means of moving pictures, and lectures and other methods regarding preventable conditions affecting infant and maternity deaths.

Several other bills relating to young persons became law, of which space will only permit a brief description. In 1921 the domestic relations law was amended in spite of opposition from many agencies to permit under certain conditions the superintendent of a hospital in whose care an illegitimate child has been given by its mother for purposes of adoption, to give consent to the adoption of such a child. This provision was further amended by the last legislature (chapter 628 of the laws of 1922) to provide additional limitations under which such work may be done and to require reports to the state board of charities. While the new law is a slight improvement, in the opinion of many persons interested in this work, it is felt that it does not get at the root of the evil, the eradication of which would mean the complete repeal of the provision granting hospital superintendents such authority.

A bill amending the prison law (chapter 645 of the laws of 1922) provides that a child born to an inmate of a prison shall not be returned to the institution in which the mother is confined unless it be a reformatory, and the officer in charge may upon proper proof being furnished by the father or other relative of their ability to care for and maintain the child, give such child into the care and custody of the father or other relative; otherwise such officer shall place the child in charge of the proper poor law officer.

Another amendment to the domestic relations law affects marriages of persons under eighteen years of age. Heretofore if an action to annul a marriage on this ground was instituted, the court had no other recourse but to order such marriage annulled. The new amendment (chapter 313 of the laws of 1922) provides that the annul-

ment shall be in the discretion of the court, which shall take into consideration all the facts and circumstances surrounding such marriage.

A number of other laws were also enacted affecting children in relation to penal and civil proceedings in courts.

Among the Child Welfare Commission bills which failed of enactment were the following:

A bill, introduced at the request of the New York Child Labor Committee, to restrict to forty-eight hours a week the employment of minors sixteen to eighteen years of age.

A bill, introduced at the request of the New York Child Labor Committee, to authorize local school superintendents to retain in school until their sixteenth birthday, fifteen-year-old children who have not completed an eight-year elementary school course.

Two bills, introduced at the request of the state department of education, to provide courses of study for training apprentices and establishing the necessary machinery therefor.

A bill to repeal various provisions in various laws, legalizing the binding out of children under indentures.

Two measures to permit granting allowances to mothers where fathers are physically disabled or have been in a state prison under a minimum sentence of at least two years.

Another measure authorizing boards of child welfare to grant an allowance to the lawful guardian of children of a mother otherwise eligible who are not within care or custody of mother by reason of her death, insanity, or temporary illness, was approved by the legislature but vetoed by the Governor.

In preparation for the legislative session of 1923, the Child Welfare Commission is making a careful study of the laws relating to children to see what further constructive changes may be desirable in order to make them protect better the interests of children, and also to rewrite, wherever deemed necessary, certain of the laws or parts thereof with a view to simplifying their language, eliminating obsolete or duplicate material and generally clarifying the provisions.

The tragedy of all great cities is the tragedy of the child-life of the slums.—*Robert W. Mackenna, in "The Adventures of Life."*

THE SCHOOL-AGE CAMPAIGN IN MASSACHUSETTS

MADELEINE HUNT APPEL

The campaign to raise the age for compulsory school attendance from fourteen to sixteen in Massachusetts was renewed during the present session of the Legislature by a number of organizations, including the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee. As a result of the interest which has been aroused in the question the auditorium of the State House was well filled when House Bill No. 611 was heard before the Committee on Education on February twenty-first.

The proponents presented a mass of material in support of the measure. Because of their age and meagre education the openings for children who leave school at fourteen are limited for the most part to unskilled jobs with little or no future. Moreover, they drift from one position to another often with weeks of unemployment intervening. A study made by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee of the working history of 324 Boston children shows that one-half of the terminated jobs had been held for less than three months.

This drifting existence is not the best kind of life for adolescent boys and girls, who are especially in need of the stabilizing influence of the school. A study of the Boston court records of fourteen and fifteen-year-old children for 1920 revealed the fact that there was proportionately six times as much delinquence among children who had left school as among children who were still in school.

Material was also presented to show the effects upon health of allowing children to enter industry at the critical age of adolescence. According to a government report the death rate for cotton-mill operatives between fifteen and nineteen is 80 per cent to 95 per cent greater than for non-operatives. This is especially significant in view of the fact that 39 per cent of Massachusetts' 43,000 working children are employed in textile mills. Medical experts appointed by the Children's Bureau state that because of the physiological and

psychological readjustments which make special demands upon the vitality of the child during adolescence, "it is of paramount importance that he should be protected . . . from the physical and nervous strain which entrance into industry inevitably entails."

The Arkwright Club, the textile manufacturers' organization, opposed the measure vigorously, claiming that the industry was in a serious condition. Data subsequently given out by the Labor Bureau, however, show that the earnings of Fall River mills were at the rate of 11 per cent per annum during the first part of the current year. The counsel for the Associated Industries admitted that industry could adjust itself to the change, but thought that it should not be made until the schools were equipped to offer courses suited to the needs of these children. This idea was expressed also by several school men, although 71 per cent of the superintendents who replied to a questionnaire favored the measure, 55 per cent unqualifiedly and 16 per cent with reservations. Readjustments in the school system must necessarily follow rather than precede such legislation.

Others opposed the bill because of the insufficiency of school buildings and the increased expense to local communities, but information secured by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee showed that the legislation would not necessitate any new buildings in 69 per cent of the cities and towns of the state and that in an additional 14 per cent the building cost would be less than \$25,000. For the annual support of the schools the increase in cost would be less than 6 per cent. The former United States Commissioner of Education writes in a recent article that "*doubling* the total of all expenditures for public schools (in Massachusetts) in 1920 would have added one dollar only in ten to the total of all taxes for that year," so a 6 per cent increase in the tax rate would be almost negligible.

The Committee on Education was divided upon the bill, but finally rendered an adverse report on March 29, with six of the committee members dissenting.

Nations, like individuals, live not by bread alone.—*Henry C. Wallace.*

"A nation is a host of men united by some God-begotten mood, some hope of liberty or dream of power or beauty or justice or brotherhood."

SHORTCOMINGS IN CHILD PROTECTION

ETHEL M. JOHNSON

Massachusetts holds a prominent place in labor legislation, and especially in legislation for the protection of women and children. Our child labor law has in the past been a model for other states. Both in the enactment and in the enforcement of such measures, Massachusetts holds an enviable rank. Much, however, remains to be done. There are many conditions which require correction. We have children as young as those in the Western beet fields working in our own onion and tobacco fields. In many of our cities and towns, the street trades regulations are not well enforced. We have a high accident rate among our working children, and an exceedingly high morbidity and mortality rate among juvenile operatives in our textile mills.

We are falling behind some of the more progressive states in our age standards for working children. We have already fallen behind in our educational standards. Up to a few years ago we permitted boys and girls of fourteen to leave school for work if they could meet the fourth grade requirements in reading, writing and spelling. That is barely literacy. And at the present time our requirements in this respect are only ability to meet the tests for completion of the sixth grade. A number of states make the eighth grade the minimum requirement. We have within the last year or two established continuation schools throughout the state for working children fourteen to sixteen years of age. In several states, however, including New York, continuation school attendance is required of all working children up to the age of eighteen years, and for eight hours a week, in comparison to our four hour minimum.

We deceive ourselves if we think that industry, to any appreciable extent, can offer training to the thousands of children that it annually receives. The apprenticeship system, where work and education were combined, where the work meant real vocational training, belongs to a period of the past. We are now in a highly developed era, an era of the machine, when the demand is not for the craftsman, but for the workman, who supplies, not so much brain and skill as labor power. Children are wanted, not as novices to learn a trade, but as

so many nimble fingers to perform one monotonous process over and over again, or as so many arms and legs to carry and trot. Of the children under sixteen who go to work, nearly nine-tenths enter occupations that have little or no educational value. Of the forty thousand child workers between fourteen and sixteen years of age in this State, over one-third are employed in textile mills at such simple processes as sweeping, doffing, or as general helpers. The next largest group work for stores, wrapping bundles, delivering goods, or running errands. Job shifting is very frequent among the younger workers. A study made by the Children's Bureau showed that in Boston approximately one-half of the children of this age change their positions every six months, or oftener.

Here in Massachusetts we endeavor to safeguard the child fourteen to sixteen years of age who is about to enter industry, by requiring him to meet certain minimum standards as to age, education and physical fitness. He must, before he is permitted to leave school to go to work, secure an employment certificate. He must present proof that he is at least fourteen years of age, and that he has attended school for 130 days since his thirteenth birthday. He must prove that he can meet the requirements for completion of the sixth grade. He must present an employer's pledge or promise to employ him in a specific occupation in accordance with the provisions of the child labor law. In addition, he must present a certificate signed by a physician, stating that the physician has thoroughly examined him, and that in his opinion the child is in sufficiently sound health and physically able to perform the work for which he is applying.

We try to protect the child after he has entered industry by restricting the occupations and processes at which he may be employed. There is a long list of employments prohibited for minors under sixteen years of age. In general, these are employments which have distinct health or accident or moral hazards. We try to protect the working children by regulating the hours and other conditions of their employment. We say that children under sixteen, with certain exceptions, may not work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than forty-eight hours a week, or more than six days a week, or before half past six o'clock in the morning or after six o'clock in the evening.

There are, however, practical difficulties and limitations in affording this intended protection. First, with respect to the protection

given to the child about to enter industry. The examination, which is to determine whether the child is well enough and strong enough to go to work and to engage in a particular kind of work, in the great majority of instances fails to accomplish this purpose; because if any examination is made, it is apt to be so superficial as to be of little value. An investigation of the methods employed in examining children for health certificates in the different cities and towns throughout the state was made in 1919 by the former Board of Labor and Industries. This study showed that to a large extent the work was hastily and carelessly performed; that in many instances no examination was made, the certificate being signed after a casual inspection, and sometimes without even this formality. Under the present law, it is very difficult to secure more satisfactory results, because any physician may sign the certificate; for there is no one who may be held responsible, no one to whom standards may be presented or suggestions made.

The intent of this requirement for health certificates is to prevent children who are physically unfit from going into industry at all, and to see that those who do go to work do not enter occupations which will mean an injury to their health. This implies that the physician making the examination should know something about the physical demands of the occupation in question, and whether the condition and physique of the child is such as to make it safe for him to engage in it. It means, or should mean, that the child who is defective physically should not be employed; that the child with any suggestion of tubercular tendency will not be permitted to work in dusty trades; that the child with defective vision will not be certified for work involving eye strain; or the child with a weak heart for work requiring lifting or running up and down stairs.

As this work is now performed, very few children are excluded from industry because of defects. In some of the large industrial cities, as shown by the study referred to, out of the thousands of children applying for health certificates, practically none were judged to be physically unfit for work. On the other hand, there is the evidence from the draft, the very large proportion of young men and boys from the industrial centers who were rejected because of physical unfitness. It would be unfair to ascribe the responsibility for this situation mainly to industry, as is sometimes done. To a considerable extent, the result is due to the fact that there were no adequate

safeguards provided when these boys, as children, entered industry. Some probably had defects which should have excluded them from industry altogether; some started to work at too early an age; some were permitted to enter occupations for which they were physically unfitted; and still others, with defects of a correctable nature, were allowed to go to work without having those defects corrected so that their effect, combined with the strain of industry, weakened and broke them down.

It is difficult to provide the needed protection to children before they enter industry. It is even more difficult to protect them after they have entered industry. Because of the practical impossibility of frequent inspections with a limited staff of inspectors, it is possible for unscrupulous employers in remote sections of the State to permit children to work on dangerous machines or at forbidden occupations. It is an easy thing for a child to shift from a permitted to a prohibited process in the same establishment, particularly if the processes are at all similar. It is difficult to confine children to the supposedly safe areas in industry. Young children are naturally irresponsible and careless. With all the safeguards which we try to place around young children in industry, there were last year 818 children, fourteen to sixteen years of age, who suffered some form of industrial injury involving loss of time from employment. In five instances the injury resulted fatally, and in thirteen instances it meant some form of handicap for life.

Some of the most serious accidents that occur to children are due, not to the fault of the employer, but directly to the lack of responsibility on the part of the child, and indirectly to the lack of responsibility on the part of society that permits children to be in industry at so immature an age. In many instances, young boys get hurt by trying to operate a machine which is near their work; although they are not supposed to touch it. A little boy last year was crushed to death by a freight elevator; he was not employed on the elevator, he was not supposed to operate it or work on it, but he worked near where it was; he tried to operate it and he lost his life. A little girl employed in a factory, legally employed at a safe permitted process, climbed on a bench to reach for something; her hair was caught on the shafting overhead, and she was scalped. In such instances, who is to blame, the child, the employer, or society that can afford no better protection for its children?

NEW YORK YOUTHS AND THEIR JOBS

"Our Boys" is the title of a report prepared by Howard B. Burdge for the New York State Military Training Commission and having the sub-title: "A study of the 245,000 sixteen, seventeen and eighteen-year-old employed boys of the State of New York." The report embodies a variety of data obtained in connection with putting into force the Military Training Law.

The estimated population of boys of these ages (December 3, 1918) is 364,000. The majority are out of school. The following general statistics are taken from the chapter entitled "Findings and Conclusions":

1. Six-sevenths of all sixteen, seventeen and eighteen-year-old boys in New York State are out of school.
2. Three-fourths of the sixteen-year-old boys are out of school.
3. Seven-eighths of the seventeen-year-old boys are out of school.
4. Fifteen-sixteenths of the eighteen-year-old boys are out of school.
5. Of every seven boys still in school four are sixteen years old, two are seventeen and one is eighteen.
6. About 54 per cent of these boys live in Greater New York.
7. 74.8 per cent live in the cities of the State.
8. 77.7 per cent live in places over 5,000 population having a superintendent of schools.
9. Only 16.3 per cent live in strictly rural communities.

The report deals mainly with the employed group. We quote the following summary statements concerning the working boys sixteen, seventeen and eighteen years of age:

NATIONALITY

1. In Greater New York sixty per cent have both parents foreign born, ten per cent one parent foreign born and thirty per cent both parents American born.
2. In Greater New York twenty per cent of the boys are foreign born.
3. About ten per cent of the boys outside of Greater New York are foreign born.
4. In general the foreign population is greater in the larger cities, although there is no direct correlation between the population of individual cities and the per cent of foreign population.
5. The type of foreign population varies greatly in the smaller cities.
6. In Greater New York the foreign population is very cosmopolitan.
7. Only three per cent of the employed farm boys are foreign born.
8. With the exception of the English, Scotch and Canadians over ninety per cent of the foreign parents are of the same nationality. The Italians record of over ninety-three per cent is the highest.

GUARDIANSHIP

1. Only four boys out of five claim the father as guardian.
2. Only 73.7 per cent of American boys with American parents as compared with 84.7 per cent of foreign boys with foreign parents claim the father as a guardian. Where one parent is foreign born the record is 80.9 per cent.
3. Twice as many fathers as mothers were reported dead.
4. In some communities only seventy per cent of the boys claim the father as a guardian.
5. Five per cent of the boys have neither a father nor a mother as a guardian.

FAMILIES

1. About half of these boys come from families of four, five and six children.
2. Foreign families are larger than American families.
3. More Americans than foreigners have extremely large and extremely small families.

PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL

1. Over sixty-five per cent remained in school one or more years beyond the compulsory age limit.
2. Over thirty per cent left on or before reaching the legal age for leaving school.
3. About six per cent left illegally.
4. In Greater New York sixty-eight per cent of American born boys with American parents and sixty-four per cent of foreign born boys with foreign parents remain one or more years beyond the legal age for leaving school.
5. In the other cities seventy-two per cent of American boys with American parents and sixty-one per cent of foreign boys with foreign parents remain one or more years beyond the legal age for leaving school.
6. The per cent of American boys who are still in school is greater than the per cent of foreign boys in every one of a random selection of eighteen large cities.

AGE LEAVING SCHOOL

Regardless of the size of the community, nationality, parentage, guardianship, and rank in family:

1. About thirty per cent left school before fifteen.
2. About thirty-eight per cent left school between fifteen and sixteen.
3. About twenty-six per cent left school between sixteen and seventeen.
4. The twenty-five per centile boy left school at about 14.8 years of age.
5. The median boy left school at about 15.5 years of age.
6. The seventy-five per centile boy left school at about 16.2 years of age.

LAST GRADES COMPLETED

1. The twenty-five per centile boy completed about 7.4 grades.
2. The median boy completed about 8.3 grades.
3. The seventy-five per centile boy completed about 8.8 grades.
4. The grades completed by the median boy vary from 8.3 in Greater New York to 7.7 in the farm boy group.
5. Sixty-two per cent of the Greater New York boys completed the eighth grade as compared with forty-two per cent of the employed farm boys.
6. Greater New York sends fewer of these boys through the first year of the high school than any of the other city and village groups.

LAST GRADES COMPLETED—Continued

7. The average rate of progress per grade per year varies from 92.2 per cent of a grade completed each year in Greater New York to only 82.8 per cent in the farm boy group.
8. Oldest boys make slightly better progress in school than their younger brothers.
9. American born boys with two foreign parents show a higher rate of progress than foreign born boys with foreign parents.
10. American boys with foreign parents in many nationality groups have a higher rate of progress in school than American born boys with American parents.
11. The type of foreign population rather than the per cent of foreign population influences the average rate of progress per grade per year in various communities.
12. In the larger nationality groups where both the boys and parents are foreign born the Scotch, Scandinavians and Russian Jews have an average rate of progress of over ninety-one per cent and the Italians of only eighty per cent. Where the boys are born in America and both parents are foreign born the Scotch, Scandinavians, Russian Jews Germans and Austro-Hungarians, all have an average rate of progress of about ninety-five per cent while the Italians have an average of 88.7 per cent.
13. American born boys with foreign parents have a higher average rate of progress per grade per year than foreign born boys with foreign parents and in many cases they excel the records of American boys with American parents.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

1. The vast majority of these boys left school because "they wanted to go to work" and not because they were obliged to.
2. Less than fifteen per cent reported that they were obliged to go to work.
3. In New York City thirty per cent gave grade graduation as a reason for leaving.

KIND OF SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED

1. About ninety per cent of the boys received their education in the public schools.

SHOP WORK DONE IN SCHOOL

1. Relatively few boys received any training in State-aided vocational schools.

BEST AND LEAST LIKED STUDIES

1. Mathematics is the best liked study.
2. English is the least liked study.
3. The maximum likes and dislikes for different subjects vary widely in the different grades.
4. Likes and dislikes are not influenced by foreign birth.

MONEY EARNED WHILE IN SCHOOL

1. The majority of boys earn little money while in school.

NIGHT SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

1. Less than ten per cent attend night school.
2. Over sixty per cent state that they do not wish to attend.
3. Less than three per cent of foreign born boys attend night school.

WAGES

1. The twenty-five per centile boys received between twelve and fifteen dollars per week.
2. The median boy received between fifteen and eighteen dollars per week.
3. The seventy-five per centile boy received between nineteen and twenty-two dollars per week.

OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT

1. Less than two per cent of the boys are assisted by schools, churches and employment agencies in getting employment.
2. About one-fourth get their jobs through friends and acquaintances.
3. About three-fourths get them by applying.

LENGTH OF TIME ON LAST JOB

1. Over forty per cent spent less than four and one-half months on their last job.
2. About sixty per cent spent less than seven and one-half months on their last job.

WHY THEY LIKED THEIR JOBS

1. About one-fifth liked their jobs because it was easy.
2. About one-fourth liked their job because it was interesting.
3. About ten per cent did not like them and would soon change employment.

CARE USED IN HIRING BOYS

1. No systematic effort is made to fit the boy to his job.

MONEY SAVED

1. In Greater New York forty per cent did not save any money and only ten per cent saved in banks.
2. Outside of Greater New York about twenty-five per cent saved no money and twenty per cent saved in banks.
3. About fifty per cent of all boys bought Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO FAMILY SUPPORT

1. The per cent contributing nothing toward family support varies from 10.5 in Greater New York to 19.6 in villages over 5,000 population.
2. In Greater New York 77.4 per cent contributed ten or more dollars per week as compared with only 59.6 per cent in the villages over 5,000.
3. The median contribution in each city and village group falls between ten and fifteen dollars per week.
4. Foreign born boys contribute more than American born boys.

OCCUPATIONS

There is a distinct correlation between

1. Fathers' and boys' occupations.
2. Fathers' and boys' desired occupations.
3. Boys' present and desired occupations.
4. Last grade completed and type of occupation.
5. There is no more correlation in the eighteen year old group than in the sixteen year old group in the four items above.
6. Most boys leaving school on or before completing the eighth grade enter and desire to enter the industrial trades and occupations.
7. Most boys who complete one or more years in the high school enter and desire to enter professional, clerical and retail business occupations.
8. There is little correlation between boys' present and desired occupations and best and least liked studies.

CHILDHOOD FIRST—AND LAST!

RAYMOND G. FULLER

The trouble with most of our courses and textbooks in child psychology is their suffusion with practical aims—childhood is temporary, childhood is formative, childhood is of little or no importance on its own account. Our knowledge of child nature, seemingly, is worth while only as it serves some purpose ulterior to childhood itself. We study child nature with reference to numerous social and educational problems, almost forgetting the child. We have a child psychology applied to schooling, a child psychology applied to morals and delinquency, a child psychology applied to play and recreation, and are beginning to have one applied to work and child labor, but we fail of a child psychology applied to childhood.

Our child psychologies are over-professionalized—designed not so much to illumine the realm of childhood as to throw light on our own tasks; not so much to enable us to help children to be children in the present, as to help us get them by the period of childhood safely and with profit, as we say, to themselves and to society. The purpose and spirit of these child psychologies is utilitarian and practical, rather than appreciative and reverential.

Take, for instance, what we call “educational psychology.” To a large extent it is merely pedagogy and school management. It simplifies and eases the tasks of teachers and administrators, and promotes efficiency of instruction and discipline. It employs the new knowledge of child nature to lubricate the old machinery of education. It shows how to run the educational mill, how to induce pupils to learn their lessons, how to make scholastic ends meet at examination and promotion time. It places the schools first and the child afterward.

The reform of educational psychology and even of the schools has begun. Writers like John Dewey and innovators like Marietta Johnson are exerting a constantly widening influence on schoolmen and laymen. Theirs is an educational psychology that would fit the

schools to child nature. It is one that conduces to a truly sympathetic understanding of children as they are—one that recognizes the fact that the condition of *being really and truly a child* is the great educational desideratum. Being a child is much more significant, educationally, than becoming an adult. The former involves and includes the latter.

What is true of our child psychologies, as such, is likewise true of our general attitude, as child-welfare workers, toward childhood. We are inclined to look upon childhood as a problem to be solved rather than an object of service. Children require so much *looking after*, lest they come to harm or make trouble, and in order that they may be properly trained and educated! It's a nuisance, really. Child welfare is thought of as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. It constitutes a job—and parenthetically, furnishes jobs. No doubt our child-welfare work is socially necessary. No doubt the spirit of social service on which we pride ourselves is admirable. But perhaps our welfare work is quite as necessary to the child as it is to society, and perhaps we could do with a little more of the spirit of *child service*. Perhaps, unawares, we are neglecting *the child*, neglecting him in our philosophy of child-welfare work, insofar as we have such a philosophy.

Child-welfare work should be carried on in accordance with the behavioristic philosophy. The essential element in this philosophy is the idea that, in order to know the needs of man, we must know how he is dynamically constituted—and so also of the child. It regards human needs from the standpoint of human nature and recognizes that at any given moment the individual possesses humanly natural needs corresponding to inner impulsions, hungers and desires which are neither good nor bad in themselves and which have a rightful and necessary expression in one form or another, whether the form be right or otherwise.

While the science of behavioristic psychology studies these humanly natural needs, their origin, and their relation to growth, development, and the integration of personality, behavioristic *philosophy* is concerned only with the fact that these needs exist and the fact, further, that the individual is always, so to speak, in a state of behavior. It is concerned not with the future of the individual but rather with his needs in the present as a behaving organism. It treats these needs with respect, and assumes that complete living

today is the best guarantee of complete living tomorrow. The future is more or less incidental. The welfare of the adult is a by-product of the welfare of the child.

The spirit of behavioristic philosophy is opposed to repression, prohibition and negation; it would keep human nature always active and busy and provide abundant opportunity for its expression in forms wholesome and beneficial. It would substitute doing for not doing, doing this for not doing that, and, never forgetting that the normal life is a life of behavior, would give thought not to the "badness" of human nature but to the goodness of the environmental medium in which human nature expresses itself, in which behavior takes place, and in which character and conduct, happiness and welfare, are determined.

The present is the most important period or moment in any human life. It is really the only important time. It sums up all the past of the race and of the individual; it is the starting point of all the future. Needs change in consequence of the constant interaction between heredity and environment; but life is continuous, and there must be at no time any neglect of *present* needs. Normality and fullness of development depend on a constant condition of complete and wholesome living in the present.

The glory of the child is his childhood and the proper object of child welfare work is the welfare of the child. This may seem a truism, but if it be, it is one whose meaning we are far from accepting in practice. Always to maintain the child's welfare does, indeed, require more knowledge than we yet possess but it also requires a different conception of purpose on our own part. Our so-called problems of child welfare—child labor and juvenile delinquency, etc.,—are really consequences of our failure to deal adequately with the one problem of child welfare. This failure determines not only our forms and divisions of child welfare work, but also to a large extent our spirit and attitude. Child welfare work is in the same position, practically and theoretically, as social work generally, which a recent writer describes as Society's "salvage and repair service." There is need of salvage and repair service, surely, but the conception of neither social work nor child welfare work should be so limited. Child welfare work, in spirit and application, should be liberated from its own failures, or—shall we say?—from Society's failures.



THE SPICE SHELF

A GOOD REASON

MOTHER—"There were two apples in the cupboard, Tommy, and now there is only one. How's that?"

TOMMY (*who sees no way of escape*)—"Well, ma, it was so dark in there I didn't see the other."

—*School and Home.*

Humor in school publicity: *e.g.*, a boy whose reason for staying out of school was "sickness":

"Who's sick? Your father?"

"No!"

"Your mother!"

"No!"

"Who, then!"

"The Truant Officer."

—*Public Service.*

WALTER, THE LITTLE NEWS SELLER

If Walter, age 11, had been given any kind of physical examination before he began work as a paper carrier he would not have been allowed even to "try it out." He is frail, undernourished, under size, and extremely nervous. His route required him to rise between 4:30 and 5:00 A.M., go to the corner half a mile distant, get the pack of about 100 papers left by the street car, and deliver them to his patrons before six o'clock.

On Saturday he had to spend a couple of hours collecting, and if he made all his collections and no one moved away without paying, he would clear \$3.00 for a week's work. If a patron failed to receive

his paper before 7 A.M., he was instructed to telephone the office of the circulating manager; and a special messenger was dispatched with the precious paper, and twenty-five cents per copy was deducted from Walter's account.

Several things went badly the first week of the child's experience as a "wage earner," or rather as a merchant, so that on Saturday he had less than \$1.00 left for his week's work. During the two weeks following the circulating manager's office was besieged with irate patrons who had not received their papers. Three, five, six, seven in number, day after day. Poor little Walter's account was closed and he had to give up, owing the paper many precious dollars.

An older boy then took the route and in a few days found the offending billy-goat that had made regular rounds gathering papers for his own use. Walter's mother says, "Never again for Walter."

America suffers today from ignorance more than any other single tyranny. Our children may have knowledge of the facts necessary for individual living. Our youth may acquire professional training of high degree. Their minds, however, have not been focused upon those truths which are so essential to a democratic community. Positive lack of knowledge of American conditions is chiefly responsible for the continuation of some evils. Failure to be intelligent upon public issues accounts for much of our weakness. The people need knowledge.—*Marion Le Roy Burton, President, University of Michigan.*

One of the first points to be made clear to the minds of the public is that physical disease offers fewer obstacles to a national efficiency than do defects or disorders of mentality. It is not intended to slight the importance of physical examinations, especially when made in youth for the purpose of controlling disease tendencies at their beginning, nor to minimize the social significance of tuberculosis and especially of syphilis, which is so prone to disable the nervous system. The health of the country has gained enormously by granting arbitrary powers in these matters to boards of health, and the public is firmly convinced of the value of the policy. But the physical diseases are neither so widespread nor so disastrous to character as mental impairments, and yet the public persists in seeing in them the chief medical obstacles to prosperity. Psychological obstacles are not so manifest, and it will be some time before psychologists or alienists are given the confidence and authority accorded to workers in general hygiene. Yet a recognition that mental health is the best assurance of national security and power must come to the country which hopes to be prosperous and happy.—*Dr. Pearce Bailey, in Mental Hygiene, April, 1917.*



BOOK SHELF

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. Henry H. Goddard. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

There is no longer any need for hit or miss guesswork procedure in handling problems of juvenile delinquency, is the opinion of the Director of the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research in his "Juvenile Delinquency." On the contrary, he believes that scientific handling of such cases is entirely possible. This book is written on the premise that juvenile delinquency is largely eradicable, and the experiences of the Ohio Bureau are used throughout to prove this point.

H. B. S.

QUICKSANDS OF YOUTH. Franklin Chase Hoyt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"Quicksands of Youth" presents, in narrative form, a number of incidents from the records of the New York City Children's Court. These very readable sketches are bound together with appropriate comment. Chapter headings are as follows: "The Spirit of the Children's Court," "A Recruit for Law and Order," "Citizens in the Making," "Twenty Months After," "The Gang in Embryo," "In Quest of Change and Adventure," "Sometimes We Smile," "Sore Let and Hindered," and "When the Call Comes to Them."

The volume has no scientific purpose but is designed simply to stimulate popular interest in the problems of delinquency and neglect. All of the stories told in it are based upon actual occurrences.

H. L. S.

MOTION PICTURES IN A TYPICAL CITY. Rev. J. J. Phelan, M.A., Ph.D. Toledo, Ohio: Little Book Press.

"Motion Pictures in a Typical City" is a social survey of motion pictures as a form of commercialized amusement in Toledo. The writer has attempted to gather together and present all available social data on the subject. He leaves the reader to make his own interpretations. Although the survey is local, it may serve as a guide to other cities in approaching their own problems of a similar nature.

H. L. S.

CHILD WELFARE: from the Social Point of View. Nora Milnes, B.Sc. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This book by the Director of the Edinburgh School of Social Study is a deeply analytical study of child welfare. It begins with an exhaustive introductory chapter showing that child welfare should be regarded as one of the studies of applied economics, and follows up this premise through chapters in which the subject is carefully scrutinized from every point of view.

It is an earnest, thoughtful, and conscientious work which may well be recommended to everyone who has a serious interest in the study of child welfare.

H. B. S.

WORKERS' EDUCATION. Arthur Gleason. New York: Bureau of Industrial Research.

Workers' Education is the name given to the movement to provide educational opportunities for workers which shall be financed and controlled entirely by workers' organizations. It has a specific aim: "The liberation of the working class, individually and collectively." In quality it is "scientific and cultural, propagandist and civic, industrial and social."

A significant pamphlet has just been published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, describing the aims and methods of Workers' Education and the various developments of this idea in America; a few foreign examples, also, are included.

G. H. F.

JUNIOR WAGE EARNERS. Anna Y. Reed, Ph.D., assisted by Wilson Woelpper. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This book will be welcomed by many people who are interested in the practically new field of junior vocational guidance. It is a carefully worked out statement of the aim, policy and methods of the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service, which was created to meet the serious problem of the replacement in school or in industry of the young war workers. Miss Reed was the head of this Division and is, therefore, most competent to tell of their efforts to deal with the situation and their experiences in so doing.

H. B. S.

NUTRITION AND GROWTH IN CHILDREN. William R. P. Emerson, M.D. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Dr. Emerson presents a comprehensive and detailed nutrition program that has attracted wide attention throughout the country. After thirteen years devoted to the study and treatment of malnourished children in nutrition

classes he has found that the real causes of malnutrition can be determined. When these causes have been removed the child responds to the strong force in nature that makes for recovery, and returns to health in a remarkably short time. He has arrived at five chief causal factors which are in order of their importance: physical defects, especially obstructions in breathing; lack of home control; overfatigue; improper diet and faulty food habits; and faulty health habits. This book presents an excellent working program covering methods of dealing with each of these five principal causes,—methods of diagnosis and identification, of removal of physical defects, of measured feeding, of control of physical, mental and social activities to prevent overfatigue: also prescribing the work of nutrition classes and clinics for treatment of malnutrition cases.

This book should especially recommend itself to parents.

J. H.

THE CHILD AND HIS SCHOOL. Gertrude Hartman. E. P. Dutton & Co.

This book consists, for the most part, of selections from the writings of well-known educational psychologists. Quotations from John Dewey predominate. The selections are so joined as to constitute a logical discussion of the bases of education and the educative process. A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to method in connection with the fundamental subjects of the present curriculum. The sub-title of Miss Hartman's book is, "An Interpretation of Elementary Education as a Social Process." The volume contains the gist of much of the best educational literature produced by the first-rate thinkers in this field.

THE PLAY MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. Clarence E. Rainwater. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

A scholarly history, this book fills an important place. Emphasizes the community idea in play and recreation.

SOCIAL WORK. Edward T. Devine. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Historical, descriptive, philosophical, readable. The book deserves and will receive a wide reading.

THE WONDER WORLD WE LIVE IN. Adam Gowans Whyte. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

It is a book of science simply but not patronizingly written for children—and grown-ups have been known to read it with pleasure and profit. Profusely illustrated.

The American Child

Volume Four
Number Two

AUGUST, 1922

Issued Quarterly
Price \$2 per Year

SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON CHILD LABOR:
STREET TRADES REPORTS

EDITORIAL COMMENT
ON CHILD LABOR DECISION:
THE NEED OF AN AMENDMENT

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee
Incorporated to promote the interests of children
105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Entered as second-class matter, June 10, 1919, at the Post-office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in
Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 10, 1918.

THIS NUMBER FIFTY CENTS

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

PRESS OF CLARENCE S. NATHAN, INC., NEW YORK.

CONTENTS

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

The children of America are America's children, to protect at home as well as abroad. This nation cannot adequately protect and develop itself without seeing to it that its boys and girls are given a fair chance for safety from exploitation and for development through education.

Those conditions making for child welfare and for national welfare do not obtain while the states—many of them—are recalcitrant in matters of child labor legislation, and the federal government is impotent to set up and maintain suitable minimum standards under the Constitution as it stands.

Twice, the people of this country, through their representatives in Congress, have sought to express their wish and will in the form of a federal child labor law, and twice their humane and patriotic purpose has fallen to naught by reason of constitutional limitations as set forth in decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

It has been published to the world that the United States of America cannot protect its children in industry. There have been two attempts and two failures, leaving little likelihood of effective action by reliance on existing constitutional powers. Moreover, any action would necessarily be indirect, for never, under the present Constitution, has there been any possibility of federal legislation dealing with child labor as child labor.

A nation that cannot protect its own children from industrial exploitation should be ashamed of itself. It should at least have the power to do so, even though it use the power only to make up the deficiencies of state action and to set up a minimum standard of national decency which no state shall be allowed to abrogate.

This power will give us respect in the eyes of our fellow nations, and to our citizens at home it will give confidence that children actually can and will be protected in whatever part of the country they may live. It is a form of democratic insurance. There is no democracy in permitting backward localities to use up childhood. We might as well speak of a democracy of robbery, of murder.

The laws of twenty-eight states, in one respect or another, are below the very reasonable standards fixed by the two federal acts. Now that the second federal act has been declared invalid, Georgia children 12 years of age may be worked ten hours a day, and children $14\frac{1}{2}$ all night long. In North Carolina children of 12 may be worked 11 hours a day during school vacations, and children of 14 the same long work day the entire year. Important mining states fall below the sixteen-year age limit for employment in mines. Other shortcomings of existing state laws could be mentioned. Reports coming in indicate that a host of children are now going to work who would have been kept out of child labor if the federal act had remained in force.

Federal protection must be restored to these boys and girls. We need to bear in mind, not only that some states have so far failed to measure up to the federal standards, but that there is no telling when, if left to themselves, some states that have as high or higher standards, will slip back. It may turn out that a constitutional amendment will be all the federal protection necessary; or in other words, that the states, knowing that Congress can do the job, will themselves give full protection to America's children. If they do, legislation by Congress will not be needed; but in any case, *Congress should have the power to act.*

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Gwendolyn M. B. Cherry". The signature is fluid and cursive, with "Gwendolyn" being the most prominent part.

LIBRARY - CITY & TOWN

NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor

Cheerful determination to go on and finish the task of child labor reform marked the discussion and plan-making at the Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor, held at Providence, Tuesday afternoon, July 27th. The decision in which the United States Supreme Court had declared the federal child labor law unconstitutional was treated with due seriousness, but with no sign of pessimism. Resentment against the Supreme Court was declared by several speakers to be unjustified and improper, and nobody dissented from that view.

The decision, as Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia, the presiding officer, pointed out, was made by warm friends of child labor reform. There is no occasion for seeking to put a curb on the Supreme Court as a way out of the constitutional difficulties. Rather, it is up to the people, if they want federal action against child labor, to clear away these difficulties by amending the Constitution.

Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, made public the tentative draft of an amendment prepared by the National Committee. This draft amendment, now somewhat modified in phraseology, exhibits several points of special interest. It applies only to child labor. It attempts to safeguard the states from any interference with, or substitution for, the administration machinery which they have already built up in the welfare field. That machinery should be preserved and developed, not weakened. In the third place, the draft amendment leaves the states free to go, in child labor matters, as much farther than the federal government as they may choose. The standards which the federal government may incorporate into law are to represent a minimum of national decency—an irreducible barrier against exploitation and neglect of children.

It was strikingly set forth by Mr. Lovejoy and others that the federal law of the past three years, like the one before it, did not affect a great proportion of the child laborers in America. When it

went into operation, its age, hour and night work standards reached perhaps 300,000 boys and girls. It did not reach children in agriculture, street trades, the movies, tenement homework, or stores. Public recognition of the fact that a rural child labor problem does exist will be slow in coming, but conditions that investigation is disclosing in the great onion fields and beet-sugar areas will open the closed mind. The federal law did not require an educational or physical qualification for going to work. Federal legislation may or may not go farther next time than it did in 1916 or 1919, but in any case, the greater part of the task of child protection in respect to labor is up to the states. The National Child Labor Committee, though it has entered into an active campaign for a federal amendment, will not diminish in any way its present efforts to improve state laws and administration.

The problem of federal action dominated the Child Labor Conference, but the program, as originally planned before the decision of the Supreme Court was handed down, had to do principally with children in street trades. It is noteworthy that in reports given by investigators and students from eight states, a similar, almost identical, set of facts was presented in each case. Street trading seems to carry with it the same hazards and consequences in all the larger cities of the country—unhealthful conditions, retardation in school, a definite push toward delinquency, small earnings, and these wasted. Apparently the regulation of street trading is still an unsolved problem. Law enforcement is especially poor in connection with street occupations, largely because public opinion is especially lenient with child labor in city streets.

Participants in the program, besides Professor Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy, were Bruce M. Watson, managing director, Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Madeleine H. Appel, secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee; Herbert M. Diamond, assistant director, Wall Street Division, New York University; Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, State Child Welfare Department, Alabama; Miss F. Zeta Youmans, officer of Juvenile Occupations Department, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago; Elmer Scott, director of the Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas; Wiley H. Swift, special agent on law and administration, National Child Labor Committee. Most of the addressees and

papers appear in this number of the AMERICAN CHILD; it is hoped to make good the omissions in the next number.

At the meetings of The National Conference of Social Work, much attention was given to the subject of child labor. Hardly a day passed without some discussion of the problems raised by the decision of the Supreme Court. Not only the problems of federal action, but other child labor problems were brought forward. Herbert Hoover, friend of children, opened his address with forceful words on this subject.

"Clearly," he said, "if economic waste is reprehensible, waste of child life, whether viewed economically or in terms of common and universal betterment, is a blight that, in its measure, is more deplorable than war itself."

Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau, said: "State standards have been raised in many states since the first federal child labor law was enacted, but the reasons for a federal minimum are substantially the same today as they were in 1916. In some states children may work at what is regarded in most of the states of the United States and of Europe a dangerously young age; in some, night work is not prohibited for young persons; in some, they may still work excessive hours. With the end of the war there have developed two conflicting viewpoints with reference to activities of the Federal Government. There is a new appreciation of the fact that there is a level in the care of children below which no state of the United States can with safety to the nation be allowed to go, and, on the other hand, the doctrine of state's right has found some new adherents in irritation at many of the forms in which federal regulation appeared during the war. In general, there is agreement that either the idea of a federal minimum must be abandoned, or the Constitution must be amended so as to give Congress the power to legislate in this field."

Text of Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois, introduced in the United States Senate on July 26th, the following joint resolution:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House

concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"Article —. The Congress shall have power to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age, and power is also reserved to the several states to limit or prohibit such labor in any way which does not lessen any limitation of such labor or the extent of any prohibition thereof by Congress. The power vested in the Congress by this article shall be additional to and not a limitation on the powers elsewhere vested in the Congress by the Constitution with respect to such labor."

This is Senate Joint Resolution No. 232. It has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, the membership of which is as follows: Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, Chairman; Senators William P. Dillingham, of Vermont; Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut; William E. Borah, of Idaho; Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa; LeBaron B. Colt, of Rhode Island; Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota; George W. Norris, of Nebraska; Richard P. Ernst, of Kentucky; Samuel M. Shortridge, of California; Charles A. Culberson, of Texas; Lee S. Overman, of North Carolina; James A. Reed, of Missouri; Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona; John K. Shields, of Tennessee; Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana.

It is hoped that all readers of the AMERICAN CHILD will communicate with Senator McCormick, with the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and with other Senators, in support of this resolution. Especially is it desired that you write or wire the Senators from your own state.

The McCormick resolution follows the wording of the draft amendment agreed upon after several successive meetings of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor, which was formed in Washington in May, after the decision of the Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the federal child labor tax law, by representatives of numerous labor and civic organizations interested in child welfare. The following are among the organizations represented in the Permanent Conference: General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teach-

ers Association; National Organization for Public Health Nursing; National Women's Trade Union League; Service Bureau; National Council of Catholic Women; National Council of Women; National Women's Relief Society; National Board of the Y. W. C. A.; National Council of Jewish Women; American Association of University Women; International Committee Y. M. C. A.; Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Women's Bureau, Department of Labor; American Association of Labor Legislation; Federal Council Churches of Christ in America; The Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania; American Federation of Labor; and the National Child Labor Committee.

The steering and cooperating committee consists of Samuel Gompers, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Matilda Lindsay, Frank Morrison, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Matthew Woll, Mrs. Glen Swiggert, William Green, Miss Grace Abbott, Thomas F. McMahon, George W. Perkins, Congressman John I. Nolan, John J. Manning, William H. Johnston, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter and Owen R. Lovejoy.

Legislation in Virginia

The child welfare laws recently passed in Virginia, which went into effect June 1, are an example of the wise type of social legislation which can result from an awakened interest on the part of a group in the state. Much credit is due to the Children's Code Commission—of which Judge Ricks is the chairman—which studied the existing laws and drafted the bills proposed to the last legislative session. Mr. Wiley H. Swift, representative of the National Child Labor Committee, cooperated with Judge H. Ricks, Mrs. Louis Brownlow, and Miss Adele Clark, state president of the League of Women Voters, in backing the child welfare bills and securing their success.

Important legislation relating to juvenile courts, the State Board of Public Welfare, child-placing and child-caring institutions and agencies, maternity hospitals, nurseries for children under six years, industrial schools, reformatories, recreation centers, and compulsory education, was passed, as well as amendments to the child labor laws. The Sheppard-Towner Bill was accepted.

A children's bureau was created within the State Board of

Public Welfare and local boards were provided for each county of the state.

Juvenile court bills were all passed in excellent shape. The Juvenile Court procedure bill provides for chancery proceeding, instead of the old semi-criminal procedure, which previously existed. A new bill extends the juvenile and domestic relation courts system to the counties of the state, giving them practically the same jurisdiction now exercised by those courts in cities. The plan is to have a special justice of the peace appointed by the judge of the circuit court.

The most important amendment to the child labor law extends the 14-year age limit to include all gainful occupations except agriculture, thereby affecting a large number of children.

Another important change raises the age limit for street trading to 14 years for boys and 18 for girls (with the exemption of boys 12 to 16 outside school hours), and prohibits night work in street trading—a much needed provision. It also makes street permits necessary for boys 12 to 16 bootblacking, selling newspapers or running errands.

Boys 16 and girls 18 are forbidden to work in cigar stores, theatres, concert halls, pool rooms, restaurants, steam laundries, or passenger or freight elevators.

Hours are reduced from a 48- to a 44-hour week under 16 in all gainful occupations except agriculture. A general exemption is made in the cases of children 12 to 16 in canneries when schools are not in session.

Compulsory school attendance is raised from 8 to 12 during ten weeks each year to 8 to 14 during entire school year, with exemption if the child has completed the elementary course of study or is regularly and legally employed.

The mothers' pension act is extended to include female guardians and mothers whose husbands are insane, in prison, physically incapacitated, divorced or charged with desertion, the amount being left to the discretion of the supervisors of the county or the governing body of the city.

The new child labor laws, together with the acts regulating child welfare and compulsory education, put Virginia among the more advanced states in this kind of legislation, and form a splendid basis for future protection of children.

Legislation in Other States

Important child welfare legislation in Louisiana has met with defeat, although several bills in the interest of working children are still pending. A bill regulating street trades, night work, and street permits was reported unfavorably in the House on June 6th.

However, a bill has been passed providing that parish school boards shall have authority to organize and maintain special classes or schools for mentally, morally, and physically deficient children whose needs cannot be properly cared for in the regular public schools.

An appropriation of \$12,129 out of the State Treasury has been proposed for the promotion of maternity and infancy in Louisiana; no action has yet been taken.

A bill relative to an appointment of a commission of seven by the governor, to be known as Commission on Laws of Minors, to review laws of Maryland relating to minors and report with recommendations to the next General Assembly, in 1924, was introduced for the first time in March and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

Both Houses in Massachusetts have adopted a resolution in favor of a Constitutional Amendment giving Congress the power to regulate hours of labor for women and minors. "By reason of lack of uniformity in laws of several states respecting hours of labor, the General Court of Massachusetts petitions that Congress propose a Constitutional Amendment."

Industrial Home Work of Children

Industrial home work in a state with no system of regulation means child labor at ages and under conditions prohibited for factory employment, according to a report just issued by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau. The report is entitled : "Industrial Home Work of Children," and gives the results of a study made in three Rhode Island cities. At the time of the study, none of the labor laws of that state applied to work done in homes.

It was found that at least 5,000 children under 16 years of age had done home work in the course of a year, that over 7 per cent of all the children 5 to 15 years of age, inclusive, in the three cities,

had been engaged in such work during that period, and that 3.5 per cent had worked for 30 days or more. Of these 2,338 children who had worked at least one month out of the year and had received compensation, 4 per cent were under 6 years of age and 46 per cent were under the age of 11.

The standards set up by the State of Rhode Island for school children and children working in factories were violated in the case of home-working children, the report states, in four respects: Children of school age remained at home occasionally or for extended periods to do home work, contrary to the compulsory school-attendance law of the state; children under the age of 14 were engaged at home in kinds of work which the law prohibited them from doing in factories; children under the age of 16 who worked in factories did overtime work at home contrary to the spirit of the law limiting hours of labor; and children injured in the course of home work did not receive compensation under the workmen's compensation law. Injuries, especially accidents from machines installed in the homes, in addition to eye strain and fatigue reacting upon school work, were frequent.

Twenty-one industries, among which the jewelry industry led, were represented by the 258 manufacturing establishments distributing home work in the district of the study; 153 establishments were covered by the inquiry. The principal kinds of work included carding snaps, stringing tags, drawing threads from lace, linking and wiring rosary beads, setting stones in jewelry, and assembling military buttons.

Four-fifths of the 956 children who reported earnings could not make, at the rates paid, so much as 10 cents an hour working at top speed; half could not make 5 cents. Of the families reporting total yearly earnings from home work, almost nine-tenths earned less than \$100 and nearly three-fifths earned less than \$25. These earnings in nearly all cases represented compensation for the work of more than one person; in over two-thirds of the families included in the study, at least three persons had engaged in home work.

A possible danger to the health of the community was found in the fact that large numbers of families reported doing home work while members of the family were ill with infectious diseases. In some cases the sick persons took part in the work.

The testimony of manufacturers using the home-work system indicates, the report states, that industrial home work in this district could be abolished with few business losses.

Child Labor Prohibitions for Industrial Home Work

The following regulations governing Industrial Home Work, submitted for a final public hearing at Philadelphia on May 4, 1922, were adopted by the Industrial Board May 9, 1922, to become effective September 1, 1922.

1. Minors under 14 shall not be employed in Industrial Home work.
 2. No minor under 16 may be employed for more than 51 hours a week, nor more than 9 hours a day, nor before 6 o'clock in the morning nor after 8 o'clock in the evening.
 3. Every minor between 14 and 16 years of age must attend, for the equivalent of not less than 8 hours each week, a continuation school in the school district where said minor is employed.
 4. These 8 hours shall be reckoned in the 51 hours a week permitted above.
 5. Minors between 14 and 16 shall not work without an employment certificate, which certificate must be kept on file by the employer.
 6. General employment certificates are required where children under 16 are employed all the time.
 7. Vocational employment certificates are required where minors under 16 work at any time except when they are required to attend school.
 8. Employment certificates may be issued only by the District Superintendent, Supervising Principal, or Secretary of the Board of School Directors, or other school official, deputized in writing by any of the other school officials authorized by law to issue such certificates.
 9. No minor under 16, who has not completed the work of the 6th grade in public schools, shall be entitled to an employment certificate.
 10. Before an employment certificate be issued, the prospective employer must make a statement in writing that he expects to give employment to a minor applying for such certificate.
 11. Employers must acknowledge, in writing, to the issuing officer, receipt of an employment certificate within 3 days after beginning of minor's employment.
 12. Upon termination of employment, the employer must return the employment certificate to the issuing school official.
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Commonwealth Fund Health Program

The Commonwealth Fund has decided to finance a thorough child health program in three typical cities for a period of five

years. The general qualifications of the first city to be selected are that it should be from 15,000 to 25,000 in population, with an infant mortality of approximately 100 per 1,000 live births, or greater.

The program will comprise safe-guarding the health of the mother-to-be, laying a good health foundation for children in the early sensitive and formative period of their growth, health supervision, and the formation of the essential health habits in school children. The responsibility for carrying out this comprehensive child health program is placed upon the American Child Hygiene Association and the Child Health Organization of America.

A joint committee will have charge of all general policies and plans. Mr. Barry C. Smith of the Commonwealth Fund was elected chairman of this committee, Dr. Philip Van Ingen of the American Child Hygiene Association, treasurer, and Mr. Courtenay Dinwiddie of the National Child Health Council, executive secretary. The opening of an office at 532 Seventeenth Street, North West, Washington, D. C., was authorized. Active work will begin at once.

After careful consideration the committee has decided that the first city to be assisted in developing a thorough program for child health will be selected from the upper half of the Mississippi Valley region. Two other cities are to be selected in other sections of the country after work has been well started in the first.

Milbank Memorial Fund Demonstration

Plans for the selection of three localities in which health demonstrations will be conducted under the Milbank Memorial Fund Demonstration, are now well under way. The localities will include:

A rural county, selected from a group of counties ranging in population from 45,000 to 75,000.

A second-class city, the selection to be determined by the degree of participation assured by the local authorities and private agencies.

A district with a population of at least 100,000 in a large metropolitan city, if there is a demand for it.

The counties and cities will be located in New York State.

The selection of the rural county and the small city will depend largely on the results of two studies now being undertaken. A statistical study of these communities is being made under the direction of Commissioner Herman M. Biggs of the State Department of Health, and under the immediate supervision of Miss Jessamine S. Whitney, statistician of the National Tuberculosis Association. The direction of the social study of the communities is in the hands of Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, under direct supervision of George J. Nelback, Secretary of the Committee on Tuberculosis and Public Health.

A Review of "Rural Child Welfare"

In *The New Republic* of June 21, Dorothy Canfield Fisher writes of "Rural Child Welfare" as follows:

"Every day's mail brings to me, as member of a State Board of Education, two or three letters from conscientious women, asking me how they can make themselves useful in 'doing something for the schools and for school children.' From now on I shall always begin my answer by advising them to read and to study this admirable book, quite as instructive, suggestive and stimulating for country dwellers in Vermont or Minnesota or Indiana, as for those in West Virginia, about whom it is written.

"It is a satisfaction to have such an excellent model to place in the hands of people, willing and ready to do what they can to enrich and protect child life, but wholly uninformed as to facts, and what is more serious, wholly untrained in methods of determining facts. The scientific spirit of exact thoroughness which animates the book will be a tonic revelation to hazy-minded people of good intentions, who cannot fail to profit by such an example of how to investigate a situation intelligently before attempting to cope with it, of how to state your problem clearly, coherently and completely before trying to solve it.

"This book does better than provide a good recipe for this sort of work; it takes its readers out into the kitchen and lets them stand by to watch the whole progress of putting the recipe into execution; the materials used and the conditions of work being exactly what any country-dweller has to handle.

"This does not mean that the conditions found in West Vir-

ginia, and so accurately and sympathetically set down in this book, are exactly reproduced in Vermont, Minnesota or Indiana. On the contrary, every reader will find occasional pages on which he can make the relieved comment, 'Well, it's not so bad as that, here,' (and yet, even at that, let him not be too sure till he has covered with the thoroughness of this investigation even a very small district of the state he thinks he knows intimately). Nor does it mean that every reader will agree with every conclusion reached by the careful, thoughtful investigators of West Virginia. Personally I do not at all agree, either in theory or practice, with their sweeping, unqualified endorsement of school-consolidation as the only way to improve rural primary schools.

"But, though the reader like myself may never have set foot in West Virginia, he will not find a page in the book over which he can slide comfortably without being stung into doing some thinking. He will find a recognition and statement there of many a problem of American rural child-life, which until now he, along with all other American country-dwellers, has blandly ignored because of its familiarity. A good example of this is the plain, truthful, unexaggerated statement of the practically universal failure of the present truant system to get rural children regularly to school. Everybody who has ever lived in the country knows that it does not work, and never has worked, and never can work, till something is done about it. We all know, too, that it fails because of the network of close personal relations in country life. But we have all looked the other way, and kept a profound silence on this failure as one of the explanations for the astounding amount of illiteracy revealed by the recent army census. City dwellers (almost without exception educational and statistical experts are city dwellers) have not guessed at what was hidden by our silence, but it is at last shown up in this book. Personally I am once more unable to agree with the recommendations of these investigators, about the best way to solve this difficulty. I do not think that a different law, or a different set of officials ever go far towards solving any difficulty unless public opinion is changed, and I think it perfectly possible to change public opinion about this matter. But the book has done something of very great value in pulling this difficulty out of the dark corner where we have kept it hidden, and holding it up so that it can no longer be ignored.

"Another good example of what this volume does, is its treatment of play. Country people have ignored the necessity to provide play and recreation for country children quite as systematically as the failures of the truant laws; and much more honestly, for as a rule they have had no notion that there was anything there to ignore. No chapter of this very useful book will be more useful than the one on Rural Recreation. The country-dwelling citizens and local and state officials who, it is to be hoped, will read this report, will find perhaps more new food for thought in that chapter and in the suggestions about play, than in any other part of this reasonable, practical, intelligent and humane volume."

Children of Wage-Earning Mothers

Gainful employment of mothers of young children frequently means that the children receive inadequate care during the day, or no care at all, according to a report entitled, "Children of Wage-Earning Mothers, A Study of a Selected Group in Chicago," just made public by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau. Other conditions found include retarded school progress of the children, over-fatigue and ill-health of the mothers—with consequent loss to the children—and in some instances over-work by children who had the responsibility for household tasks beyond their strength.

The report presents the results of a study of 843 families of working mothers, in which were 2,066 children under the age of 14 years. The group included families known to the Chicago United Charities and to the day nurseries, and included also a special group of 212 colored families. It was found that the problem of the employment of mothers had to do with both normal and broken families. Where the father was a member of the family group and worked regularly his earnings were, in the great majority of cases, inadequate for the family support.

The school-attendance records of a group of 742 children were obtained, and these compared unfavorably with the attendance of all the children enrolled in nine selected schools in workers' neighborhoods. A large amount of retardation was found among the children of wage-earning mothers, over one-third of whom were below the standard grade for their age.

Factory Inspection in Jugo-Slavia

The International Labour Review quotes the following points as worthy of note from the first annual report of the Labour Inspection Department of Jugo-Slavia.

Only twelve industrial inspection officials were at work during 1920. During this year 1,138 undertakings, employing 36,027 persons, were inspected; 279 of these undertakings were commercial and 850 industrial; 397 used mechanical power and the rest were entirely dependent on man-power. The age-distribution of the 36,027 persons employed in the above-mentioned undertakings was as follows:

Male workers

36 under 12 years of age
1,791 between 12 and 16 years of age
26,486 above 16 years of age

Female workers

37 under 12 years of age
1,127 between 12 and 16 years of age
6,550 above 16 years of age

These numbers, however, do not correctly represent the total number of workers in the country, since industrial inspection is not yet carried on in every district; even in areas where it has begun, it has proved impossible to visit all undertakings on account of the inadequacy of the available staff. It may be anticipated that complete statistical returns will be presented in 1922.

Before the war it was not specially advantageous to employers to engage either unmarried or married persons, since each worker was paid according to ability. These conditions have been changed in an important respect. A basic wage is now paid, to which bonuses are added according to the responsibilities of the worker for wife children, parents, etc. It is therefore cheaper for the employer to engage unmarried persons, and married workers are being dismissed and replaced by unmarried ones. It is obvious that this produces an intolerable situation, which calls for relief at the earliest possible moment; the number of married persons who are unemployed increases daily.

Complaints of the illegal employment of young persons and women are very common, and the regulations on hours of work are being disregarded; in southern Serbia, in particular, the daily hours of work still amount to more than 14.

Employment-Certificate Conference

The increasing interest which schools are taking in the children who leave their classrooms at an early age to go to work was evidenced by the inclusion in the National Education Association program this year for the first time of a section on "Standards and Problems of Employment-Certificate Issuance." The meetings were held under the joint auspices of the National Education Association and the Children's Bureau. In opening the conference Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, emphasized the fact that the age, education and physical standards of a child labor law can be uniformly enforced only if every child is required to have a certificate, and if certificates are issued only upon reliable evidence that the child is legally qualified to work.

A paper by Miss Anne S. Davis on the "Organization and Procedure of the Local Issuing Office," brought out very clearly the advantages of having certificate issuance closely correlated, as it is in Chicago, with the vocational guidance and placement work, the attendance department, the industrial studies division, and the factory inspection department. She spoke in some detail of the careful medical examination which is given every applicant. Twenty to thirty per cent of the children are refused certificates because of defects; the greatest number for malnutrition. By referring them to clinics or sending them to Arden Shore camp, which is maintained for the purpose, defective conditions are corrected and health is built up. Dr. Wade Wright of Boston brought out the necessity of having this work done by competent physicians, appointed for the purpose. The examination is important, he believes, not only to exclude children from occupations for which they are not fitted, but as a check upon the school medical inspection work, and as a basis of comparison with the findings of subsequent examinations to determine the effects of early employment.

Miss Edith Campbell of Cincinnati, discussed the bearing which work permits have upon school problems, and stressed the need for reorganizing grade work to meet the needs of retarded children.

Mr. Taylor Frey of Wisconsin described the State Employment Certificate System, controlled by the State Industrial Commission, which has the power of refusing to allow children to work for undesirable employers.

Dr. E. J. Lickley summarized conditions in California, and Miss Jeanie Minor of New York and Miss Esther Lee Ryder of Alabama discussed the enforcement of the educational and age standard in issuing employment certificates.

At the close of the conference a resolution was passed requesting the Children's Bureau to call a similar meeting at some future date, and asking that a discussion of the control of street trading be included in the program.

Child Labor in Oyster and Shrimp-Canning Communities

A report made public by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau described child labor in the oyster and shrimp-canning industry during the period between the first and second Federal child labor laws, when no Federal regulation of child labor existed. Special significance attaches to the report in view of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, rendered on May 15, which held the Federal Child Labor Tax Law unconstitutional and thus leaves the children again without the protection of a Federal law. The report, entitled "Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp-Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast," calls attention to the very young ages of many of the children employed, the detrimental conditions under which they worked, the poor school facilities, the marked retardation in school, and the employment of mothers of young children.

The work of both the children and their parents was subject to all the irregularities of the cannery industry, the report states. Since the work depended on the catch, it began any time between 3 and 7 o'clock in the morning, and lasted a few hours, a whole day, or sometimes on into the evening. Of the 544 working children

under 16 years of age included in the study, more than three-fifths worked whenever the factory was open. The others worked only occasionally or before and after school and on Saturdays. The majority of the children—334 of the 544 who worked—were under the age of 14 years, the minimum fixed by both of the Federal laws. Some were as young as six years of age or under.

Most of the cannery work was wet and dirty, and was done in cold, damp, drafty sheds, the oyster shuckers or shrimp pickers standing among the empty oyster shells or shrimp hulls. The workers were liable to injuries from the sharp oyster shells, shrimp thorns, and work knives, and to constant soreness of the hands from acid in the shrimp. Many injuries were reported among children.

In order to secure an increased supply of labor which the employers are able to control, the custom of importing families from the North has been carried on each winter for a number of years. These migratory workers are housed in company camps, which usually were found to be insanitary and overcrowded. With no community held responsible for their education, 37 per cent of the white children 10 to 15 years of age in the migratory families studied were illiterate, as compared with 4 per cent for approximately the same age group, both white and colored, for the United States as a whole. Nearly two-thirds of the children of these families at the ages of 14 and 15 had not completed the fourth grade. Even among the local children who worked in the canneries retardation in school was serious. Nineteen per cent of the resident white children and 25 per cent of the colored, could neither read nor write.

In about one-fourth of the families in which the mother or the children were employed, the father was dead or had deserted the family. The study was made at a time when earnings were said by employers and workers to be higher than ever before, but the earnings of the fathers for their best week during this season were found to be under \$25 in two-thirds of the cases, and under \$20 in nearly one-half; for the average week 79 per cent of the fathers made less than \$25, and practically a third of them less than \$15. Four-fifths of the mothers averaged less than \$7.50 a week.

Working mothers with children under 6 years of age either left them at home, in a majority of cases with only children as caretakers or with no caretakers at all, or took them with them to the

canneries, where they were subject to the physical discomforts of the canning sheds and were liable to accidents.

Study of Child Welfare Laws in Alabama

The June issue of *Alabama Childhood*, the official bulletin of the State Child Welfare Department, consists of a study of the laws affecting children and suggestions for legislation made for the Welfare Commission by the National Child Labor Committee.

In 1921 the Commission appointed from its membership a committee of five to make a careful study of child welfare legislation with special reference to the problems presented in Alabama, and to make recommendations for the removal of inconsistent, obsolete or otherwise undesirable laws and also recommendations for new legislation for the promotion of child welfare. The chair named on this committee W. T. Murphree, S. D. Murphy, Dr. S. W. Welch, Dr. John W. Abercrombie and Lawrence H. Lee. This committee was empowered to employ such expert service as it deemed necessary for the making of the study.

Under these instructions the committee called on the National Child Labor Committee for help in making the study. Mr. Wiley H. Swift, Miss Mabel Brown Ellis and Miss Gertrude Folks were assigned to the task, and went to Alabama where a careful study of the State's laws, agencies and institutions was made. The National Child Labor Committee and the members of its staff who made the study realized that the local committee was more intimately acquainted with conditions in the state than they were. In fact, they understood that the report was to be preliminary and that the final report was to be the opinion of the special committee. But the study was accepted with slight revision by this committee on May 8, 1922, and the Commission as a whole received and adopted the report May 18, 1922.

The agents of the National Child Labor Committee found that the Alabama general law for children is in the main satisfactory, and that there is no need for sweeping changes. The suggestions they made are therefore in the nature of development of already existing laws. Pending the next legislative session the special committee is now drafting laws in conformity with these recommendations.

BREVITIES

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, which held their biennial convention at Chautauqua, New York, the last ten days in June, passed a resolution favoring a child labor amendment to the Constitution. Although all delegates present saw the necessity for child labor reform, the resolution was preceded by a lively discussion as to the proper method of attaining the reform. The majority, however, believed that the only sure way of securing effective legislation for the protection of children is through a constitutional amendment.

For several years there has been in Rome an agricultural colony of sixty children, the aim of which is to educate poor minors, orphans, and deserted children. They are given a primary education up to 12 years of age, followed by vocational training.

In France there are 15 apprentice schools of agriculture for children of dead or wounded soldiers. The apprenticeship lasts three years, and boys must have a certificate of primary studies or be 13 years old to gain admittance.

Charles E. Gibbons, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, presented a paper, "The Extent and Control of Rural Child Labor," before the Department of Rural Education at the Annual Convention of the National Education Association in Boston, Friday afternoon, July 7th.

In order to make intensive studies in the development of children between the ages of two and four years, the Iowa child welfare station has organized a pre-school laboratory, where twenty children are now under daily observation and experimentation. This is the first laboratory school of its kind in America.—*Journal of Education*.

According to a decision handed down recently by the compensation referee at Philadelphia, child workers between the ages of 14 and 16 who are injured on their way to continuation school are entitled to the benefits of the workman's compensation act.—*Journal of American Medical Association*.

The National Child Labor Committee has received the following letter from Dr. Louis Miller, chairman of the Committee on Medical Literature of the *American Medical Aid for Russia*

"We beg to acknowledge receipt of your literature, which as you may see from the enclosed notice, has been forwarded to Russia on the S.S. *Belvedere*, which sailed May 31st.

"Inasmuch as literature on children is now of particular interest to Russia, we are glad to have been the medium of forwarding this, and we would be glad to receive from you all future literature for the same purpose."

The National Association of Travelers Aid Societies announces the appointment of John R. Shillady, formerly executive director of the National Consumers' League, as general director of its work in aid of travelers.

Wiley H. Swift, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, spoke in Toronto, June 22nd, before the Kiwanis Club International on the subject, "A Fair Chance for the Underprivileged Child—A Future Citizen."

The U. S. Bureau of Education encouragingly reports on one method of solving the problem of rural education. Transportation of pupils to the public schools is specifically provided for by the school laws of 43 states. The remaining 5 states—Delaware, Florida, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming—permit transportation under the authority granted to school trustees or directors to provide for the general welfare of their school districts.

One of the three planks in the platform of the Progressive Feminist Party, a new political body organized in Chile for the purpose of gaining all the rights claimed by women, is the founding of a ministry of public welfare and education, headed by a woman executive, to protect women and children and to improve living conditions.—*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*.

According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, a total of 136,441 boys and girls were enrolled in agricultural extension clubs, in 1921, for training in various phases of live-stock work. These junior farmers owned, last year, 76,149 head of farm animals and 554,286 fowls, representing a total value of \$3,605,176.

Although agricultural extension methods are older in Denmark than in the United States, work with boys and girls as conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with state agricultural colleges has not yet been organized there. A plan, however, is being considered for forming such clubs, says S. Sorensen, agricultural advisor attached to the Danish Legation at Washington. At present the work in Denmark is for people from 18 to 70 years.

A news item in a Raleigh, North Carolina, paper reports that the Drexel Furniture Company has instituted a suit for the recovery of \$6,312 in taxes paid by the furniture concern under protest, child labor products tax. Judge James E. Boyd, who made the ruling holding the federal child labor law unconstitutional, signed final judgment directing the United States Treasury to refund the amount.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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EDITORIAL COMMENT ON CHILD LABOR DECISION

The Supreme Court decision of May 15, declaring unconstitutional the federal child labor tax law of 1919, has received widespread attention. Public opinion is unanimous in its insistence on child labor reform, and many leading newspapers and magazines have come out vigorously in favor of federal action based on a constitutional amendment, as the only effective method of securing the reform which public sentiment demands.

The New York *Times* suggests that the Supreme Court decision declaring the child labor law unconstitutional is a disguised blessing. After pointing out in detail in how many ways the recently invalidated child labor law was inadequate, it says: "The great campaign for improving child labor conditions which is now going forward with renewed energy is aiming much higher. It is working to raise the age limit at which boys and girls can enter any occupation. It strives to establish health standards and assure several years more schooling for boys and girls, whatever their subsequent work may be. With an aroused public conscience, it seems improbable that the next legislation will fall as far short of the ideal as those laws which have been repealed. The whole problem of child labor, its importance to the health, education and morals of the next generation will be opened and attacked in a broader spirit and with increased vigor."

The New York *Mail* writes:

"After muddling around for more than ten years with the child labor question, it would seem that even Congress must be convinced by now that the only adequate recourse is to an amendment of the Federal Constitution. Since Congress first began dallying with the matter children have grown up into imperfect and stunted manhood and womanhood who might have attained normal and healthful development if the thing had been done right in the first place. Are the boys and girls of today to be doomed to the same melancholy fate? The

inhumanity, the injustice, the barbarity of child exploitation has come to be so generally understood that none dare uphold it in the open. Congress must see to it that none can continue a bushwhacking warfare against it in secret. New legislation ought to be written into the nation's statutes immediately, on whatever ground promises success. In the meantime the machinery of amending the Constitution should be set in motion without an instant's delay."

"It is plain," declares the *New York Globe*, "that a Constitution drafted in 1791, before the rise of the factory system, is not adequate to meet the necessities of a nation as completely industrialized as is the United States of 1922." In a later issue, the *Globe* reiterates its urgent demand for a constitutional amendment:

"Two successive annulments of federal laws forbidding premature child labor by the United States Supreme Court have so aroused public opinion that apparently the way has been prepared for the adoption of a child labor amendment to the national Constitution. . . . Congress obviously ought to have such powers as would be conferred by this amendment. It is absurd that this nation should now have no legal authority to interfere with conditions injurious to the health or morals of the coming generations. For if a nation cannot defend its young it cannot assure its own existence. These propositions are so widely accepted that child labor laws duly safeguarded in the Constitution ought soon to be upon the statute books."

In the opinion of the *New York Tribune*:

"The only adequate safeguard now feasible is a constitutional amendment nullifying the recent decision. Opponents of child labor barbarities should at once become active in behalf of an amendment. The difficulties are great, but they can be met. It has been shown that the Constitution is amendable—that the old idea that the consent of three-fourths of the states cannot ever be secured to change is faulty. The amendment should be drawn in the simplest form and be confined to the single matter of child labor, for any sort of larger general federal control over interstate commerce would be combated and lead to complications."

The New York newspapers just quoted are by no means the only ones voicing strong sentiment in favor of a child labor amendment to the Constitution. According to the *Washington Star*:

"Constitutional amendments are not as difficult to obtain nowadays as in the past. It is possible to modify the organic

law when a public demand is generally expressed. Some years ago an amendment was adopted, when a Supreme Court decision pointed to its necessity, in order that an income tax might be levied. It is the hope of those concerned for the correction of the child labor evil to repeat this procedure and lay the foundations for an effective federal statute following amendment. The fight against child labor is not to be stopped by legal barriers which can be removed."

"The Constitution," the *Boston Transcript* says, "certainly could not have provided for every emergency, for every development of the national sense of morals and necessity."

The *Denver (Colo.) Times* declares: "We doubt not that the rights of children are as important to the thoughtful American citizen as those of the adult population. They must be protected against the greed of industry. If the only way to effect this protection is by constitutional amendment, then let it so be done, in order that the American child may be given an opportunity in every nook and cranny of the nation to grow up to citizenship free from the stunting influence of the factory, the mine and the shop."

The *Cleveland (Ohio) Press* points out that "The Supreme Court's decision accords with the Constitution; but the Constitution must be amended if American civilization is to advance at an even level."

The *San Francisco (Cal.) Journal* writes:

"A society that imposes premature age on children by making drudges of them at the time they should be building up their bodies by free play in the open air, or their minds by education, will perish prematurely and will deserve its fate. By two recent amendments to the Constitution, measures have been taken to make the poisonous liquor traffic a matter of national concern and to secure national recognition of the rights of women as citizens. If we do not regard the rights of children as an equally important issue and of equal concern to the nation as a whole, our boasted idealism is a rather hollow affair."

The *Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News* takes the view that the Supreme Court decision caused considerable satisfaction even among the most ardent opponents of child labor, "for it was felt that the apparent impossibility of enacting a satisfactory national law would

hasten the adoption of a federal amendment which would serve the same purpose in a larger and more thorough way.

"The feeling in favor of such an amendment, in spite of the delay always attendant upon a change in the Constitution, is likely to grow, particularly when it is realized that the unsuccessful law would have reached only 15 per cent of the working children in the United States, leaving the other 85 per cent unprotected. Children in street trades, sweated tenement house children and the million children in agricultural labor were wholly untouched by this law.

"Those who are working for a federal amendment on this matter are keeping in mind the fact that many states now have excellent child labor laws within their own boundaries and that progress is being made year by year in improving local conditions. The amendment will be so worded that its requirement will be the minimum and so not annul the effect of state laws that are in advance of it."

The Jackson (Miss.) *Clarion* takes the progressive attitude that child labor is a national interest. "America cannot for its own sake afford to have its youth deadened by unremitting and burdensome toil under conditions which prevail wherever child labor is exploited. It is more than a state interest. It is a national interest and it will be very unfortunate if the evil is allowed to continue."

The Houston (Texas) *Chronicle* takes issue with those who criticise the decision of the Supreme Court, and admonishes them to take the constructive viewpoint rather than the destructive:

"If the law is unconstitutional, and we still want it, there is something more important and more constructive for us to do than make faces at the court. Since we have the power to amend the Constitution, unconstitutionality of any given law is no permanent barrier to its final enactment. If three-fourths of the states want it, there is a way for them to get it. Whether a federal child labor law can be made effective under existing provisions of the Constitution seems rather doubtful. At all events, Congress has tried twice and failed. Meanwhile, and if a great majority of people favor such a law, as we believe, there is an open road by which to guarantee its constitutionality. That road is the obvious one to follow."

The American *Federationist*, representing organized labor, demands a constitutional amendment as the only remaining legislative remedy: "The labor movement will continue its work of emancipa-

tion, but a constitutional amendment is needed to complete the work quickly. The Supreme Court cannot reach a constitutional amendment. Every great moral force in the country should rally to the cause of the children, demanding and working constructively for immediate congressional action for a constitutional amendment to save the children from the greed of employers."

One of the problems that has arisen from the Supreme Court decision is the old question of states' rights. Some people still feel that political tradition and absolute state autonomy are more vital than the welfare of a nation's future citizens. Dr. John A. Ryan, in the *Catholic Charities Review*, clearly defines this issue:

"The division between matters which are proper for state legislation and those which should be subject to federal control is clear. All subjects of a local nature which either do not affect the people of other states at all, or affect them only slightly and indirectly, should be reserved to local and state control. All matters which directly and considerably concern the people of more than one state, should be regulated by general federal laws. Not only the employment of child labor, but the whole province of industrial relations belong in the latter class. They should all be subject to regulation by Congress. What we need is an amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering Congress to regulate all the conditions of employment of labor, including the power to fix minimum rates of wages in all industries."

The *New Republic* interprets the situation not only from a logical viewpoint but from the humanitarian point of view that the welfare of children is not something to be argued along geographical or political lines:

"It is not necessary, after a century and a half of industrialism, to argue at length the case against child labor. Every intelligent person who is not blinded by self-interest knows that labor in mines and factories and shops is injurious to growing children. It is a grave wrong to the children themselves, but that may be conceived of as a matter which lies between the children and the state in which they are domiciled, if one chooses to bound his human sympathies by rather shadowy geographical lines. It is a wrong to industrial society, which will pay, in future ill health and incompetence, for the small present profits to the exploiters of child labor. And American industrial society is not partitioned off by state lines. It is a wrong to the nation, which depends in war upon the physical fitness and

mental alertness of its young men, and in peace upon the vigor and intelligence of its citizenship.

"But child welfare is such an intimate, such an imperative matter: is it credible that the nation should need to step in to hold any state to its duties to its children? Is it credible that the state should need to step in to hold the parents of children to their duties? It is credible. The history of child labor proves that, conclusively."

"We believe," it continues, "that the case is one that calls for national action. We are not in reality one nation unless we can establish minimum national standards, most of all in the field of child welfare."

To allow the exploitation of childhood, for mere, present, material gain for the few, is suicidal to any commonwealth. Words are powerless to convey the disastrous consequences resulting from denial to any child, white or black, rich or poor, the opportunity to develop in home and school for the burdens of adulthood. Neglect of the child brings to us an endless file of unemployables, defectives and criminals. Of what use to spray a plant suffering from the cut-worm? Let us unite on a child labor constitutional amendment which will give to all children the fullness of life which is their birthright.

—*Grace E. Bliss, Woman's Legislative Council, Seattle, Washington.*

CONNECTICUT STUDY OF STREET TRADES*

H. M. DIAMOND

The study was made as a part of the work of the Connecticut Child Welfare Commission appointed in 1920. The concentration of effort in the direction of dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children prevented the undertaking of any field work in this study. As a result the study was made by questionnaire. Questionnaires were circulated in the grammar schools of four cities: Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport and New London. Each child reporting work on the streets was questioned by his teacher and the replies entered on the questionnaire card. About 2,500 cards were returned and 1,222 were selected for final analysis.

The results of the study:

I. Nativity.

Birthplace of Street Traders

Birthplace	No.	Per Cent
United States.....	1,064	.88
Foreign Country.....	151	.11
Unknown.....	7	.01
Total.....	1,222	100.00

Birthplace of Parents

Birthplace	No.	Per Cent
United States.....	276	.23
Foreign.....	931	.76
Mixed or Unknown.....	15	.01
Total.....	1,222	100.00

Table I and II deal with the matter of nativity; Table I indicates the nativity of the children, and Table II that of their parents.

*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

The table shows that very few of these children are foreign-born—only 12 per cent; in fact, 88 per cent of them being of American birth; while, on the other hand, Table II practically reverses the percentages, 76 per cent of the parents being of foreign birth.

II. Parental Conditions.

The Connecticut figure of 84 per cent from normal homes simply corroborates the findings in other cities. The broken home is a very slight factor in street trading.

III. Employment of Parents.

Tables VI and VII show that in 87 per cent of the cases the fathers of the children were employed, and that in 15 per cent the mother was employed. With respect to this latter figure, it is to be noted that in only 10 per cent of the cases was the mother widowed, so that as a matter of fact, in a few of the families both father and mother were at work at the time this study was made. The figures prove also that nearly all of these children are living with an adult male bread winner.

IV. Earnings.

The average earnings of these children, calculated on the basis of the above enumeration, are 54 cents per day. This figure does not represent, however, what the average child actually takes home. The general average is raised by the earnings of a few boys who really make good earnings. Sixty-five per cent of the children state that they can earn 50 cents and less per day; 26 per cent state that they can earn 25 cents or less per day; 19 per cent claim to earn more than \$1.00 per day. For the greater number of children the earnings are below 50 cents. If the calculation is made of the average daily earnings of the group stating that they make 50 cents and below per day, the result is an average of 33 cents per day. The general average of 54 cents does not truly represent the amounts which most of these children are turning in; the latter named amount more closely approximates the sums which the greater number of children are obtaining by their efforts. As Hexter remarks, "The average earnings are not representative as they include the exceptional boys who earn the large amounts."

Interpreting the figures from our returns in the light of all the

facts of the case, a safe conclusion is that the regular earnings of these children will vary between \$1.00 and \$3.00 per week, the latter figure being somewhat higher than the average.

V. School Work.

About one-third of the street trading children are in the retarded group as compared with one-sixth in the general school population. One-tenth of the street traders are in advanced grades as compared with one-fifth in the general school population. A comparison of the figures for the general school population of these cities with the group considered in this study yields the same general results as above. The retarded group is much larger among the street traders than in the general school population, and the advanced group is relatively smaller.

Of these Connecticut children, then, two facts are established in this connection: one that they are street traders, the other that they are disproportionately behind in their school grades. Authorities on the subject have voiced the opinion that the employment of school children on the street competes with their school work, with disastrous consequences to the latter. The fact that so many unrelated studies carried on in widely separated localities have uniformly disclosed this high rate of retardation is sufficient evidence of the correctness of their conclusions. The phenomenon is too regular in its manifestations to leave room for doubt on this point. Unquestionably the same forces are at work and the same relationships exist in Connecticut as elsewhere.

That the regular occurrence of this combination of factors is not a mere matter of coincidence may be otherwise demonstrated by an analysis of the findings of this study with respect to hours and earnings. A relationship between the facts of street trading on the one hand and of retardation on the other is definitely and incontrovertibly established.

VI. School Work and Hours.

While the retarded group of children constitutes only 33 per cent of the total number under consideration, they form 55 per cent of the group working six hours a day, 59 per cent of those working five hours a day, and 46 per cent of those working four hours a day. On the other hand, they are but 22 per cent of those who work

only one hour a day. It is obvious, therefore, that the retarded children are largely identical with those who constitute the group devoting the greatest number of hours per day to work outside of school; and that they form the greater part of the group working more than three hours per day, although, as a whole, they form but one-third of the entire number of children tabulated. It should be noted, also, that the percentage increases for the retarded group as the number of hours increases, and conversely for the normal and advanced children the percentage increases. In other words, as the number of hours per day of work on the streets increases, the retarded children tend to form a larger and larger part of the total.

In fact, it can be demonstrated that as a group the retarded children are putting in longer hours of service than are the children whose school records show them to be in grades either normal or advanced for their ages.

Examination of the tables develops the point made above that the retarded children as a group are devoting more time to work on the streets than are the children of normal or advanced school standing. These figures may be summarized thus:

Of the normal and advanced group 63 per cent work two hours and less

Of the normal and advanced group 37 per cent work three hours and more

Of the normal and advanced group 16 per cent work four hours and more

Of the retarded group 44 per cent work two hours and less

Of the retarded group 32 per cent work four hours and more.

In brief, the percentages show that the degree of retardation increases with the length of the working day of these children, and that among retarded children those habitually working the greater number of hours are further behind in their grade than those who work a lesser number of hours.

VII. Hours and Earnings.

When the matter of earnings is reviewed in the same way the same general facts appear. It is, of course, to be expected that

the children devoting the larger number of hours will show the greater earnings; and that also, as Hexter has shown in his Cincinnati study, the older boys are earning the larger sums. This is revealed to be the case in Connecticut. The retarded children constituting the older group are earning larger sums per day than are the younger children whose school standing is advanced or normal and who are devoting fewer hours per day to the work.

Summary.

Save for the fact of the presence of child laborers on the streets of Connecticut cities, little has hitherto been known concerning them. The foregoing study has attempted, under the limitations of the time and funds at the disposal of the Child Welfare Commission, to establish some understanding of these children, and a few of the salient and more readily discoverable facts concerning them have been ascertained. Much remains to be accomplished in the study of Connecticut street traders before a complete program of remedial action may be resolved, for such a program must be based upon the fullest possible knowledge of the conditions and needs of these children.

1. The extent of employment of children on the streets in this state is not known. In the grammar schools of four selected cities some 1,200 children reported to their teachers that they were so engaged outside of school hours. How many failed to report; how many high school children are employed on the streets; how many in the parochial schools; how many in the other cities of the state? No one knows; no one may safely venture a guess at the figure.

2. More than this, nothing is known of their physical condition. Studies made in other localities have demonstrated that many of the street trading boys are suffering from serious physical defects or organic disturbances. On the questionnaire used in Connecticut a question was included relative to the health of the children. The results were not tabulated for the reason that it was concluded that the judgment of casual observers and lay persons could not be accepted as testimony on a matter so important as that of health.

3. Moreover, the relations between street trading and juvenile delinquency has not been subject of inquiry in Connecticut, although on this point also the results of studies in other communities have been most illuminating and conclusive. The Connecticut questionnaire asked with respect to each child whether or not he had ever been arrested or was on probation. The returns on these questions were not tabulated because in these matters also much room for doubt existed.

4. At present, then, facts are not available upon which to base a case that will justify the abolition of street trading by Connecticut children. On the other hand, this study has demonstrated not only that some form of regulation of street trading by children is necessary, but has indicated also precisely what the nature of that regulation should be. The problem as it has herein presented itself is very largely, if not entirely, educational in character.

5. A considerable number of these street trading children are doing well in their school work, and a few are doing superior work—in spite of it. But another disproportionately large group of these street traders consists of children who are far behind their grade when compared with the general school population.

6. This retarded group of children is largely composed of those whose long hours of employment outside of school with their relatively large earnings are detracting from the energy and interest which might otherwise be devoted to their more legitimate school work.

7. It is evident that regulation of street trading in Connecticut should aim at a reasonable control of the number of hours which school children shall be allowed to give to work on the streets.

8. No sufficient reason has been found why these hours of employment outside the school should not be so limited as not to interfere in any serious measure with school work. Although it appears that most of these children are actually contributing of their earnings to the family budget, the contribution from their labors to the support of their families is usually unneces-

sary and, from the viewpoint of American standards of living, undesirable; and granted that this extra income is necessary to the family, even then the additional amounts earned by the extension of the hours of labor to the point of interference with school work is not sufficient to justify the sacrifice.

9. The presence of retarded children in a class is always recognized as a handicap to the progress of the class as a whole; they are a chief source of anxiety and nervous strain for the teacher, and their presence in any considerable numbers in the schools is a distinct economic loss to the community. It is self-evident that the pupil who takes ten years or eleven years to accomplish work which ought to be done in eight or less, or who spend eight or ten years in covering ground that should be covered in six, and, probably the most serious count of all, leaves school but half educated, represents an unnecessarily large economic waste, and the community bears the expense.

10. Three-fourths of these street trading children come from homes in which the parents are both foreign-born. The public schools offer their one opportunity to come into intimate contact with the best that America has to offer: its language, its history, its standards, and its ideals. The interpretation of the land of their parents' adoption must come from outside the home—and this interpretation should not be that of the street. It is manifestly more important for these children to receive the fullest measure of the benefit from the education publicly provided than it is for any other single group in our schools today; and the group whose educational progress—on the basis of public policy—should be interfered with the least, should cease to be a group whose educational life, through diversion by outside interests is compromised the most. To this problem the educational authorities of the state of Connecticut should address themselves.

The protection of childhood is costly. The standards we are willing to accept and carry forward are a test of democracy because they are a test of whether it is the popular will to pay the cost of what we agree is essential to the wise and safe bringing up of children.—*Julia Lathrop*.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE STREET TRADES LAW IN BOSTON*

MADELEINE H. APPEL

I assume that you would like to know three things about Boston: what the law regulating street trades is in Massachusetts, what machinery Boston has set up for its enforcement, and how the system is working.

For the purposes of this discussion, the law can be briefly stated: The minimum age for participation in street trades is 12 years for boys, and for girls 16 or 18, depending upon the size of the place. Boys under 16 must wear badges which are issued by the school authorities. They may not, of course, sell during school hours. The morning and evening hour limits for boys under 14 are 6 A. M. and 8 P. M., and for boys 14 to 16, 5 A. M. to 9 P. M. Enforcement is legally the duty of both attendance officers and police.

Through Mr. Philip Davis's book "Streetland" most of you are more or less familiar with the background of the Boston system of enforcing this law. In an attempt to bring about more adequate supervision of this type of child labor the School Committee in 1906 created the office of Supervisor of Licensed Minors. He was charged with the duty of licensing the boys and keeping constantly in touch with them through street inspections. Philip Davis was appointed to this position. He at once tried to win the cooperation of the boys, the keynote to my mind of any successful method of enforcement. It was not, however, until 1908, after Mr. Davis had become familiar with the Toledo Newsboys' Association, that the Boston Newsboys' Republic was organized.

In each school where there were ten or more newsboys, a captain and two lieutenants were elected. It was the duty of the captains to make a weekly street inspection of their districts and

*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

to make a monthly inspection at the school to see that every boy had his own badge and to find out if any had been lost. These elected representatives also sat as a congress which met quarterly to discuss the conduct of the trade and to make regulations governing it when this was necessary. Action taken was ratified at an annual convention held on June 17th. The Newsboys' Court or Trial Board was the outcome of the 1910 convention. It was set up in October of that year for the purpose of reducing the number of boys who came before the Juvenile Court. The Trial Board had five members, two adults appointed by the School Committee and three newsboys. This completed the machinery of self-government. What was vastly more important, however, was the spirit behind it. Through district and central meetings of a social or educational character, the supervisor won the friendship and confidence of many of the boys, and they began to realize the importance and dignity of their citizenship in the Newsboys' Republic. Supplementing the work of the Republic was a Newsboys' Club, where varying social activities were carried on.

You notice I have been using the past tense, because the Newsboys' Republic of today in Boston is only a ghost of its former self. Captains and members of the Trial Board are still elected annually, but apart from that action, the Republic as a whole does not function. It has seemed unwise to the present Supervisor to encourage the captains to make street inspections of their districts. They do, however, assist the Supervisor when he comes to their school to talk to the newsboys of the district. Neither the congress nor the annual convention meet now. The Newsboys' Club has recently disbanded.

The Trial Board, however, still sits regularly every Thursday evening. There is only one adult judge now and he acts as chief justice. The boys serve as interpreters. Because of the limitation of time, their advice in regard to the disposition of cases is not asked as often as one might wish. The Supervisor acts as prosecuting officer. One of the parents is required to appear with each child. Most of the 495 cases heard in 1921 were dismissed with a warning, but a number were placed on probation and the child required to appear before the Board each week. If a teacher has complained of a boy, he is asked to bring his school record with him. Only two cases were taken to the Juvenile Court. To date, there have

been six cases during the current year. One was a distributor who furnished an unlicensed boy with papers.

How well is the law being enforced today? As I have said above, the boy captains are no longer asked to make street inspections, so this is done almost entirely by the Supervisor himself with only spasmodic assistance from the police.* It is an impossible task for one man to maintain strict enforcement single-handed. The boys know him too well and give warning up and down the line as soon as he comes in sight. The Supervisor has succeeded for the most part, however, in keeping under-aged boys from engaging in street trades, although violations do occur, especially during vacation times. The provision requiring boys to wear badges seems to be the most difficult to enforce. A recent street canvass in the busiest districts of the city showed that less than half had badges in evidence. Late selling at night is not very common, although a number of children can almost always be found on the streets after the evening hour limit. As a whole the law can be said to be only fairly well enforced in Boston. There is certainly room for improvement.

Methods of administering street trades laws must be adapted to the needs and resources of each community. What is essential, however, in my estimation, is an enforcing official with personality—a man who can lead boys and awaken their sense of responsibility instead of relying solely upon coercion.

* At one time a special police officer rendered valuable service in the enforcement of this law, but no such officer exists at the present time.

STREET TRADES IN ALABAMA*

LORAINE B. BUSH

For a number of years Alabama has been concerning itself with factory children and children engaged in various other kinds of work under *bona fide* employers in an attempt to give them an opportunity for some measure of education and also protection for their growing bodies, but it was not until about two years ago that we started an honest-to-goodness effort to extend this protection to the child laborer of the streets who has no employer except the public, which is much too absorbed in the larger affairs of the day to ponder very seriously upon its responsibility for the fate of the impressionable mites of humanity who are growing daily more precocious with the unhealthy wisdom of the streets.

The Alabama child labor law passed in 1915 contained a clause restricting the age of boys selling papers to 12 years and boys engaged in distributing papers to 10 years of age, and prohibiting street work for girls under 18. This law also made it necessary for boys to obtain a badge (his license) before they were able to qualify for this work, but a boy, when he had once secured the required badge, could sell at any and all hours of the day between 5 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock at night. I personally have known principals of schools, who, upon being notified by the newspapers that an extra edition was coming out, dismissed the newsboys to participate in the sale. The original act required that a boy should be a regular attendant at school and his record satisfactory before he could obtain a badge. But this new law prohibits the employment of a child under 14 years of age in any occupation whatsoever during the hours when the public schools of the district in which he resides are in session. The boy who formerly obtained his badge and sold during school hours, or who attended school irregularly, now, under the new legislation, forfeits his badge.

*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

The state child labor inspectors are too few and their inspections much too infrequent, to enforce this section of the law, but in the cities and counties where there are school attendance officers, the enforcement is mainly done by them under the direction of the state inspectors.

As a beginning of our new efforts to tighten up on street trades two years ago, we conducted three studies of hours, earnings and behavior of boys engaged in selling and distributing papers in three Alabama cities—Anniston, Mobile, and Montgomery. Last year, a second study was made of Mobile and a study was also conducted in Birmingham, the largest city in the state. The purpose of these studies was to determine whether the boys engaged in street trades were attending school regularly, and the effect of several hours of daily contact with the street upon the school work and the morals of the boys thus engaged.

One of these studies showed that 46 per cent of the boys wasted their earnings in gambling, picture shows, soft drinks, candy, and wiener sandwiches. This left a little over 50 per cent who spent their earnings for anything necessary or useful. As a consequence of street work less than 50 per cent of these boys received promotions at the end of the school year. In Mobile, 66 per cent of the boys working at street trading contributed nothing to the family coffers, but wasted their entire earnings much in the same manner as the boys had done in the first city studied. The result in this city was that nearly 75 per cent of the boys were graded below average in school, both in conduct and in scholarship. This meant that the number of boys in street trades in each of these cities who were wasting their earnings was running in the same proportion with the number of newsboys who were failing in their school work. In other words, school was running in competition with the excitement and dissipation of the street work with its late hours, little recreation, and its spirit of thriftlessness. The school was unable to cope with its rival in the case of from 55 per cent to 65 per cent of the boys, therefore, it was costing Alabama twice as much to educate, or rather, try to educate, these boys who must spend at least two years in a grade, not to mention the later cost to the state in losing this number of citizens who would not be properly trained or morally equipped to be independent and useful. A large percentage of the boys who were doing good work at school, despite

the street work, represented the naturally thrifty and industrious who usually came from the better homes and who had had a fair start at an education before they began street work.

It was found that the boys would congregate about the newspaper office for an hour or so before the papers came off the press, in order that they might be the first on the street. While waiting, they would pass the time matching pennies, rolling dice, fighting, using foul and profane language, and creating bedlam in general. The force about the distributing rooms usually encouraged the boys in their uproar by teasing them. When one boy was questioned as to how he spent his time while waiting for his papers, he replied: "We play in the basement but we have a fight most every day. Yesterday some of us boys bet Hugh that he could whip Gerald and we had the best time." "Did he whip him?" the inspector asked. "Not yet," the boy answered, "but they are going to finish this evening. Hugh had better whip him though or I am going to lose some money." "What did Mr. X., the man who gives out the papers, say about the fight?" asked the inspector. "Oh, he don't care," said the boy, "he said that he hoped Hugh would whip Gerald because he needed a good beating."

In one city it was found that the boys made only one cent on each paper sold. But the manager with great pride told the inspector that the boys could make much more than one cent if they were clever enough, because many customers would not ask for their change if the boy was alert or appealing, and others would not wait for their change if the boys would not be too hasty in making it. In other words, he was encouraging his boys not to make change unless asked for it and to appeal for tips to swell their earnings.

After the study was completed and a copy sent to the circulation manager, the inspectors started a campaign to better the conditions by enlisting the school attendance officer to keep close tab on the school attendance of the boys, and when they were not in regular attendance at school, to revoke the badges and notify the newspaper accordingly. The newspaper man, fearing that the result of the study was going to be made public and injure his paper, immediately took steps to assume some responsibility for the behavior of the boys about his establishment. The result was that the next year, when a similar study was conducted, it was found

that whereas 65 per cent of the boys had failed at school the year before, the number had decreased to more than half, or to 30 per cent, and 50 per cent of all boys in street trades were doing school work equal to the average of their class.

In the distributing room where chaos and uproar once reigned, the manager now provides games such as checkers, dominoes, jacks, etc., and the boys must obey certain rules of behavior and use no vulgar or profane language. For a violation of these rules of order they are fined from 10 cents up, according to the nature of the offense. A bonus system for regular selling has been instituted, and the fines are usually deducted from the bonus at the end of the week. Instead of fighting and struggling, as formerly, for the first place to receive the papers, the boys now take a number as they enter the room, and when the papers are ready for distribution, they assemble in line according to these numbers and receive their papers in a business-like and orderly manner.

Last year a study was conducted in Birmingham, Alabama's largest city, and 143 boys were studied, 107 of whom were street sellers, and the remaining 36 newspaper carriers who worked in the residence section only.

It was found that the boys engaged in street selling made about an average of \$6.50 a week and 30 per cent of the boys spent all their earnings for themselves, only 20 per cent having any savings accounts. Most of these accounts were merely a Christmas savings fund or else savings to buy a bicycle, or some such article which the boy desired. Forty-seven per cent were contributing none of their earnings to the family incomes. The boys who were engaged in delivering papers made an average of \$2.00 a week, and 44 per cent of the boys used all for spending money alone, only 14 per cent giving any of their earnings to their parents. When the school records were examined, 35 per cent of the sellers were found to be retarded, and although eight weeks of the school term remained at the time the study was made, the teachers estimated that at least 33 per cent of all the 143 boys studied would have to repeat their grades next year. It was learned, also, that almost without exception, the boys who were failing in their studies were those who had engaged in street work for the longest period of time. And while the teachers estimated that 67 per cent of the boys would pass their grades, they also estimated that only 29 per cent of all the boys

studied were doing work equal to, or above, the average for their classes. The school attendance of the boys was good, running 94 per cent good for the boys engaged in distribution, and 82 per cent good for the boys selling. This was a result of a vigorously enforced school attendance program in Birmingham and also due to the fact that a boy's badge is revoked unless he attends school regularly. Absences are followed up by the school attendance officer who issues the badges, and it is not infrequent that the badges are revoked by the attendance officer because of irregular school attendance. About 30 per cent of the boys doing street trading in Birmingham were found to come from broken homes, and the mothers of 23 per cent of the number were found to be engaged in some kind of work outside the home each day. This meant that one out of every four boys was left to his own resources from the time he left school until he returned home late at night. Twenty-eight per cent of the boys smoked, 10 per cent were habitual gamblers, 14 per cent frequently played truant, 12 per cent were known to be troublesome on the street, and 6 per cent had been caught stealing articles. A few of the boys coming from homes of especially poor environment were found to stay out all night, sometimes sleeping on the floors of the distribution room of the newspaper establishments, in nearby garages, or such sheltered places. The consequence was that eight per cent had been before the Juvenile Court. This number does not include those former newsboys who were then inmates of the Parental Home or the State Training School for Boys. Seventy-five per cent of the boys with Juvenile Court records had been selling papers for more than two years. Four of the boys had been before the court on three different occasions and two had been previously committed to the Training School for Boys, and later dismissed.

Fifty-seven per cent of these boys lived in the downtown sections and spent all their time after school on the streets, thus having no time or opportunity for play or recreation. When we stop to consider this condition, we are really astonished that more of the boys thus cut off from the normal activities of child life do not succumb to the evils of the street.

An interesting fact in connection with the studies of street trades made in Alabama, and the enforcement of the law pertaining thereto, is that the large dailies, instead of becoming antagonistic to the department, rallied to its cause promptly, and made appar-

ently very sincere efforts to better conditions. This has already been indicated in the report of the Mobile study where the manager of the Mobile *Register*, after our study, immediately set up certain rules and regulations promoting better standards which are still, more than two years later, in effect. On one occasion, friends in Louisiana who were trying to secure the passage of a child labor law applying to street trades, wired the Director of the State Child Welfare Department of Alabama, asking that she send the chairman of the House Committee having the Louisiana bill in charge, a telegram commending the advantages of the law in Alabama. Realizing that her opinion would have little weight with a legislature, the director, instead of sending telegrams over her own signature, called up the managers of all the big dailies in Alabama and assuring them that she would take care of all expenses, asked them to send the chairman of the committee at Baton Rouge a telegram, stating exactly their feelings about the child labor law. She urged them to be frank, whether their opinions were favorable or not. With only one exception, every big daily in Alabama forwarded at its own expense day-letters commending the street trades clause of the Alabama child labor law. The circulation manager of the Birmingham *News* said to the Louisiana Legislature, "If Alabama had had this law 20 years ago she would not have to concern herself so much today about illiteracy and other evils."

The difficulty of enforcement is greater in the smaller towns, where big dailies are controlled by unscrupulous agents, than in larger cities where pleasant and profitable contacts can be made with the managers themselves. We have just succeeded in having a form letter written by the circulation manager of the largest daily in Alabama to his agents, advising them that if the Department of Child Welfare continues to find non-observance of the law on the part of the agents they would be expected to resign. This sort of cooperation is very new and unique in Alabama.

Every year there are nearly 1,000 boys under 16 years of age in Alabama who take out licenses for street trades. This means that unless we work diligently, according to the statistics obtained from our studies, more than 500 boys will fail yearly in their school work because of street trades, to say nothing of their being exposed to the many hazards with which they are in daily contact.

The time will probably come when every American city will abolish street trading by children. But until such a time does come, we must work zealously and earnestly to check its abuses by perfecting the license system and by amplifying plans for closer supervision, with self-government as a basis for such supervision.

Children deprived of play-life are robbed of their childhood—and the world can never repay what has been lost, even though it may try, in an agony of repentance, to compensate these children—for in this respect, there is no forgiveness of sin. Thousands of undeveloped children work in agricultural and street trades, factories and tenements, denied schooling and playtime, and are worn in body and mind.—*Royal Neighbor, Rock Island, Illinois.*

Children, finishing the eighth or ninth grades, are too young to make the most of themselves in they leave school They may enter industry, but, not knowing what they want to do, they will drift along for a number of years, forming habits of idleness and instability, which are costly to the community and harmful to the children.—*Frank Cody, Superintendent, Detroit Public Schools.*

STREET TRADES IN CHICAGO*

F. ZETA YOUNMANS

A report on street trades in Chicago must be one that concerns itself with the things that ought to be done rather than those which are actually accomplished. The chaotic condition of political affairs throughout the state reaches down to all ages and grades and touches the small boy selling newspapers as surely as it does the governor. Plans for a new street trades ordinance have been given up because of the general *impasse*.

There is no state law on street trades in Illinois. The situation in Chicago where the greatest activity in street selling shows itself is disposed of by an ordinance enacted in 1912. The provisions of this ordinance are as follows:

No girl under 18 may at any time sell anything on the streets or in public places.

Boys under 14 may pursue any of the occupations enumerated after 5 o'clock in the morning and before 8 o'clock at night.

Between the ages of 14 and 16 a boy who has on his person an age and school certificate may sell all night if he so chooses.

The ordinance further provides that the police officer who finds violations must inform his superior officer, who in turn must cause a letter of warning to be written to the boy's parents informing them of the nature of the violation. A second offense permits prosecution and the fine may not be more than one hundred dollars. The most serious difficulty in the way of strict enforcement is lack of cooperation on the part of the police.

Two obvious defects of this ordinance are that it sets no minimum age and that the clause, permitting a boy of 14 to sell at any hour of the day or night if he has a school certificate on his person,

*Abstract of paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

is out of date. The Certificating Bureau of the Board of Education no longer issues work certificates to boys but handles them through the employers.

The portion of the ordinance satisfactorily enforced is the paragraph which prohibits street selling by girls under 18. Girls are occasionally found selling papers or gum, but the practice is rarely persisted in after the first warning. The Chicago *Daily News*, which practically controls the conduct of the news-stands during the day, gives us very effective help in enforcing this part of the ordinance.

But for the violations of the ordinance by boys under 16 years of age there is no such clear-cut remedy. Although Mr. Wrigley is beginning to make gum-selling a part of the street trades problem, the selling of newspapers with the vast proportion of competition, of stimulating the public to buy, and of making it possible to purchase at every step without interfering with the regular pursuit of business, makes the newsboy the central figure of interest in street trades. One package of gum will last an ordinary individual for a day. One shoe shine per day would seem to be all that the average man needs, but the number of newspapers consumed by an individual appears to be measured only by the capacity of the newspaper to get out new editions.

The problem of day selling resolves itself into an effort to keep boys under 10 from selling at the news-stands and on the streets. The minimum age is not found in the ordinance but in a paragraph of the state dependency law, which includes street selling in a definition of a dependent child under 10. The difficulties of this problem may be suggested by the fact that the majority of news-stands are owned by Italians, and that apparently every Italian family that has a boy usually attempts to have him sell papers or black boots from the time he begins to go to school at six or seven years of age. These cases are controlled only in the more crowded districts and wherever the use of small children is perfectly obvious. That the law is not enforced throughout the city is beyond doubt, although the *Daily News* makes some effort to control this situation also.

Night selling, with its lure to boys already inclined to delinquency, is the worst problem that has to be faced. The news-stands are owned by the men who sell day papers. The night papers are sold by a different group, who use some of the same

stands and make them serve as a distributing center for the wagons. The men on the stands at night are often known only by nicknames—Shorty, Red Jake, or Speck. The work of selling has to be carried on somewhat differently from day selling. The purchasing groups are found in different places and are more widely scattered. Sometimes whole areas profitable for day selling are not at all profitable for night work. The men usually secure the services of a group of boys, who, according to the law, should be 16 years of age or have secured their work certificates. These boys usually sell on a commission basis, or 50 cents per hundred. A typical group of this sort was found in one district. Two or three nights in succession at 11 and 12 o'clock at night, six boys were found within a radius of three or four blocks from a certain stand selling papers. These boys were all under 14 years of age. Investigation showed all of them to have either delinquency or truancy records and bad home conditions; one was subnormal. After the first night we were never able to get in contact with the man for whom they worked. None of them knew him by any name but Shorty. A letter sent to the name and address he gave on the first night of the investigation was returned for better address. Men of this type may be found at any profitable corner after 10 o'clock at night. Policemen pass on their regular beats. Boys as young as eight may be selling at midnight week after week, but unless that boy's name and address and place of selling are sent to the precinct office, the lad will never be interfered with. It is illustrative of this situation that a boy of eight reported to be selling until 1 A.M. every night at a certain stand proved to be the son of a policeman.

In 1916 the news alley situation was investigated by the Juvenile Protective Association. Demoralizing conditions were found involving very young boys, many of whom slept in the alleys and were in contact with the most degraded types of men. The result of the survey was the promise of cooperation from certain of the newspapers and an order to exclude from the alleys boys under 16 in the future.

During the winter just past, the fever of competition among the newspapers resulted in the establishment of lotteries. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were advertised to be given away to the holders of lucky numbers, and the tremendous increase in circulation that resulted broke down all the restraint in the use of carriers.

The public must be satisfied with newspapers and lottery tickets. Papers were piled on the street corners in mountainous heaps and the streets swarmed with boys of all ages selling until one o'clock in the morning. An appeal was made to the Chief of Police for the enforcement of the street trades ordinance. Before the lotteries had ceased to function, the police made a vigorous effort to get the boys off the streets, but unless the attention of the Chief had been called to the situation it is very likely that no policeman in the city would have considered it his duty to interfere with the business of distributing newspapers and lottery tickets. At this time the boys found their way again to the news alleys where newspapers were again distributed to them.

The attitude of the men in charge of the circulation department is illustrated by a night investigation. This newspaper was publishing an edition that came from the delivery room at 8 o'clock. The street trades ordinance says that no boy under 16 without a certificate may sell after 8 o'clock. On the night in question, 11 boys started into the newspaper alleys just before 8 o'clock. Behind them, through the swinging doors, walked two officers of the Juvenile Protective Association. They followed the boys through the room from which papers are distributed to the wagons. The manager of that room was about to put into the arms of the first boy a bundle of papers, when he happened to see the officers. He snatched the papers from the boy and said to the group of prospective purchasers, "It's against the law for you boys to get papers here. Get out." The oldest boy in the group was 12 and the youngest 7 years. They had been purchasing their papers from the alleys for two months. They all came from one neighborhood; all attended one school and were there to help an 11-year old boy who had an established afternoon paper route with his older brother.

How many newsboys are employed in Chicago, what are their general living conditions, how their occupation affects their school work, and how the question is related to delinquency, we have no adequate way of knowing. A tentative plan was outlined by the Juvenile Protective Association this year for a new street trades ordinance that should set a minimum age for day selling, fix a minimum age for night selling at 16, and establish a licensing system to be handled through the Board of Education. The Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Mortenson, and Miss Anne Davis, head of the

Vocational Guidance Bureau, were very willing to cooperate in securing such an ordinance and to undertake the issuing of licenses or permits. This plan had to be given up until the present political crisis involving the Board of Education is over.

A survey of seven schools, made by the Vocational Guidance Bureau, in regard to after-school occupations, has given us the first glimpse of the actual situation in regard to street trades from the school point of view. Of the 123 boys who stated that they were occupied after school in street trades, 74 were newsboys, 44 bootblacks, three peddlers of gum, one top seller, and one a distributor of hand-bills. Of these, 89 were Italians, 9 Polish, 8 Jewish, 5 German, and 3 Bohemian. The balance of 9 was divided among 8 different nationalities.

The basis of employment of the 74 *newsboys* was as follows: 6 sold on commission, 8 could not tell the basis of arrangement, 10 were employed by near relatives at a stated wage, 14 were selling for themselves on a purchase and sale basis, and 36 were employed at a stated wage by stand owners not related. None of these were certificated for work.

The grades in school included everything from the second grade to high eighth. Rank in school was as follows: 33 were in the first rank in grade, 45 in the middle rank, 30 in the third, 13 were marked failure, and only 1 was classified as subnormal. This is significant from the point of view of fairly efficient school work being carried on with an after-school occupation. The lack of subnormality is also noteworthy, especially when compared to the number of subnormal children found begging on the market streets.

Out of the whole number of boys occupied in street trades (123), 104 boys stated that the money earned was given to the mother to spend; only 16 reported the use of any part of their earnings by themselves, and only 13 stated that the money was saved.

One of the most interesting situations disclosed by the information gained was in regard to the amount of time spent in street selling, the amount of money earned, and the methods of business contract. The deductions from this portion of the survey have not been completed, but it is quite obvious that the boys who are paid a stated wage and work at a stand owned by a man *not a relative* are the most satisfactorily paid.

The street trades ordinance is based upon the proposition that a boy is selling for himself. The statistics just given show a much greater proportion regularly employed at a stated wage. For years the State Factory Department, sustained by the Attorney General, refused to consider this employment as a violation of the child labor law. Under the present administration of the Department of Labor a deputy factory inspector has been assigned to the Vocational Guidance Bureau and a Department of Industrial Studies established. A report from this new Department indicates the close cooperation and extended interpretations of law given by the Department of Labor.

Both the Employment Certificate Department of the Board of Education and the State Factory Department are attempting to give the widest meaning possible to the state child labor law. In doing this, they are including occupations which might be considered as coming under the city ordinance on street trades. As the standards of the child labor law are much higher than those of the city ordinance, the Department feels that it is improving the situation by having the state law encroach upon the territory as far as possible. With the child labor law operating in all cases where a boy is actually employed at a stated wage—an arrangement which has always proved to be the safest and best for the children concerned—it will only remain to control the free-lancers, who are rapidly decreasing in number. This progressive attitude on the part of the State Factory Department and the Board of Education will greatly simplify the street trades situation.

The most crying need is that of a clear-cut limitation on night selling and a stringent enforcement of it. The Juvenile Protective Association is accumulating information on the demoralizing effects of night selling that should be of potent value in securing better enforcement of the present ordinance, and in breaking down all opposition to a definite age limit of 16 for night work.

The world is moving in a way to show increasing solicitude for the welfare of children. Scholarship, as well as sympathy; insight into the future, as well as understanding of the present; respect for the natural and divine rights of childhood, rather than for worn-out social philosophy and fallacious property rights; these are conspicuous in the drift of the world today.—*Reverend William J. Kerby, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities.*

STREET TRADES IN PENNSYLVANIA*

BRUCE WATSON

The Pennsylvania Child Labor Law of 1915 provides that:

"No male minor under twelve years of age, and no female minor, shall distribute, sell, expose, or offer for sale any newspaper, magazine, periodical, or other publication, or any article of merchandise of any sort, in any street or public place. No male minor under fourteen years of age, and no female minor, shall be suffered, employed, or permitted to work at any time as a scavenger, bootblack, or in any other trade or occupation performed in any street or public place. No male minor under sixteen years of age, and no female minor, shall engage in any occupation mentioned in this section before six o'clock in the morning, or after eight o'clock in the evening, of any day."

The enforcement of the act is made the duty of the police, the inspectors of the Department of Labor and Industry and the attendance officers of the public schools. Between these three agencies the enforcement of the street trades section goes by default. It is the old story of divided responsibility, plus the constant menace of a powerful newspaper influence that is opposed to enforcement.

Other sections of the law are pretty well enforced by these same agencies, and the reason for the utter breakdown of the street trades section is doubtless the fact that the newspapers are the worst offenders and possess enormous political power. All enforcement officers and their superiors know what will happen if they do anything to interfere with the convenience or profit of the publishers. Efforts to secure enforcement are met by violent opposition on the part of three-fourths of the newspapers, and with rare exceptions the other fourth give no active support.

The repeated studies made by our association have produced information not unlike many others made in almost every part of the country by many different agencies.

Children of tender years are on the street at all hours of the night and day, many of them contributing nothing to their own

*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

support, but using their earnings in attendance at shows, in gambling, and in gratification of various tastes and desires. Begging is common, the papers being used merely as a cover. Most people who are inclined to look with tolerance upon the evil give the matter but little thought, and make no distinction between legal and illegal selling.

But a small percentage of the children violating the law are forced by economic necessity to do so.

A very large percentage have a record of poor school attendance, retardation, and various forms of delinquency. At first thought the obvious conclusion is that street trades should be controlled by the police, because the police are everywhere and have ample authority.

Long-continued study and careful analysis of the matter has convinced us that it is not a police job, for these reasons:

The business of the police is to look after the safety of citizens. They deal with adult law-breakers and criminals. They have neither the intelligence nor the point of view required for this task. A proper handling of street trade violations reaches into the home and sometimes into the school, where the officer on the beat cannot go. Finally—*the police will not do it.*

Almost the same reasons apply against reliance upon the inspectors of the State Labor Department for the performance of this duty.

Every one of these considerations points to the school department as the proper agency to deal with this problem. It has the intelligence, the point of view, the necessary organization, and many contacts with the child through the school and the home.

Acting in accordance with this belief, the Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania prepared and promoted in the legislature of 1921 a bill fixing responsibility for enforcement of the street trades section directly upon school authorities.

It provided as follows:

“In every school district of the first, second or third class, authority for the enforcement of section seven of this act shall be vested also in the board of school directors thereof. In every such school district, the board of school directors shall employ attendance officers sufficient in number to enforce thoroughly the provisions of said section. Said board of school directors may make such regulations and adopt such plans as it may deem

wise or necessary for properly carrying out the provisions of said section, subject to the approval in writing of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

"In case of failure of the board of school directors of any such school district to properly enforce said section seven, it shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to withhold any order for such district's share of the state appropriation until such failure has been corrected."

This bill advanced smoothly to third reading in the House of Representatives, when the newspaper men discovered it, got it referred back to the committee that had reported it out, and secured a hearing at which the papers were represented by a large delegation whose chief spokesman was a prominent attorney who had been retained by them. The representative of one Harrisburg paper appeared in behalf of the bill.

The usual specious arguments were offered, namely: "that the enforcement of the law would work a hardship on poor families and that paper-selling was a school of business for the youngsters."

It was evident that the hearing was intended largely as a matter of form, for the newspaper association brought its influence to bear upon the political leaders of the dominant party. Word was passed out to kill the bill, and it never afterwards emerged from committee.

Then a movement was begun to persuade school boards voluntarily to assume the responsibility (they already had the authority) of enforcing the street trades section. Up to the present time, the Philadelphia School Board is the only one which has complied. It has detailed two attendance officers, under direction of Mr. Henry J. Gideon, Chief of the Bureau of Attendance, on full time, to handle the problem. Their effort thus far has been directed at the evil of night selling, by boys under 16 years of age after 8 P.M. While they have ample authority to take violators into custody, they find it best to adopt other methods at first. Their procedure is as follows:

When a child under legal age is first picked up, the child is warned, his name and residence are taken and next morning his parents are visited and warned. Seventy-five per cent of the parents are ignorant of the law, although before this plan was put in operation a printed copy of the law was given to each child in school to be taken home to his parents.

On second offense the child and his parents are summoned to the school attendance office and there reprimanded.

On third offense, if it appears to be the parent's fault, he is summoned to the magistrate's court and given a suspended sentence. If the parent seems to have the right attitude, but is unable to control the child, both parent and child are summoned to the House of Detention, where a formal hearing is held and both child and parent warned of the consequence of another violation.

In the four months that have elapsed since the inauguration of this plan there has not been a fourth offense. When a fourth case occurs, the suspended sentence will be enforced and the penalty increased, if the fault is the parent's. If the child is beyond the parent's control, he will be sent to an institution.

As the work progresses, it is planned that first offenses shall be reported to the regular school attendance officer working in the field where the child lives, and that officer will make the home visitation. In most cases he will know the child, the parents, and the child's record.

While this work has been going on for only four months, very slowly and cautiously certain results are apparent.

While at first each officer found an average of fifteen violations in a night's work, he now finds only five or six, mostly new cases.

This is largely due to the plan whereby the "corners" are assigned to boys by the various circulation managers of the newspapers. When a boy has been picked up, the manager assigns a new boy to his corner. Better cooperation of the circulation managers is hoped for in future.

While it is easier to establish a case against the night work as dangerous to health and morals, yet the larger problem is that of afternoon selling. By far the greater numbers are employed then, and more violations of the law occur. It is against any curtailment of either legal or illegal selling in the afternoon that newspaper opposition is strongest.

We are hoping that when the illegal night work is well under control the Philadelphia Board of Education may be persuaded to authorize its attendance officers to attack the afternoon and morning problem.

Already the attendance officers assigned to this work have found the need and the means of a very helpful social work. Where children violating the law come from homes of manifest economic need, the officers have sometimes been able to put them in touch with

social agencies which have helped them to better self-support. Sometimes the officers have been able to connect the children with positions where they could earn money legally. One fifteen-year-old boy was putting himself through high school by illegal paper selling at night. The circulation manager who employed him was notified and promised to find other employment for the boy by which he could earn his support without breaking the law.

The attendance officers have arranged with the state employment office to send unemployed men to the circulation managers to replace boys selling illegally. One circulation manager promised to take all men that were sent.

During March, April and May, 418 violations were found, 176 cases were investigated at the schools attended, and 311 at the homes; 108 hearings were held at the attendance office and five cases were taken into court.

Our field worker is now out among the second and third class cities of the state in an effort to induce the school authorities of those cities to follow the lead of the Philadelphia Board in assuming responsibility for the control of street trades and to go farther than the Philadelphia Board has gone.

Most school superintendents are in sympathy with the plan and in a few instances the attendance officers have done a little on their own responsibility. One superintendent assured our worker that there was no street trade problem in his city, and that if she found a case of law violation and would report it to him, he would attend to it forthwith. Within a very few hours she found a girl of 13 and her brother of 11 working for a man named Wilson, from 6 to 9 P.M. She also found and reported three boys aged 7, 9, and 10, selling in the afternoon. His response was as follows: "By putting your letter in the hands of the truant officer, he declares that it is legal for the children to work these hours. I am happy to hear that this is all you have found wrong in B." A further letter from our worker explaining to the superintendent the incorrectness of his attendance officer's information met no response. Fortunately this superintendent is the exception rather than the rule.

A study of the street trades made recently in Pittsburgh brought out the following facts:

Fifty-three per cent of the newsboys of the city are violating the law.

Boys of two and three years of age are selling papers. (The youngest newsboys our own workers in the state have found were four years old.)

Nearly 75 per cent of the boys are retarded one or more years at school.

Eighty per cent come from normal homes, the father living and supporting the family.

Only one-sixth of the boys contribute anything to the support of the home. Their money goes to the movies, is lost in crap games, or is spent for candy and ice cream.

The average hourly earnings are about four cents.

Of 1200 newsboys, 197 boys under 14 years of age were selling after 8 P.M. The law says that no boy under 16 may sell after 8 P.M.

100 boys under 12 were selling after 8 P.M.

772 boys, 65 per cent of the cases, studied, began to sell before they were 12 years old.

The Rochester Reform School draws 75 per cent of its inmates from the newsboy ranks; Hart's Island (New York City) 63 per cent; Glen Mills (Philadelphia), 77 per cent; Cincinnati 28 per cent; Thornhill (Pittsburgh) 66 per cent.

Thirteen per cent of the cases studied admitted that they gambled and ten per cent admitted that they smoked.

Five per cent of the boys received major bodily injuries in the streets in one year. In many cases these injuries were very expensive for the parents.

"The newspaper authorities themselves stimulate boys to become 'newsies.' The more boys they have the more papers they can sell."

Fifty-six per cent of the Pittsburgh newsboys have foreign-born parents.

The whole situation in Pennsylvania may be summarized in a brief statement, as follows:

The street trade evil in Pennsylvania has the same characteristics that it has in every other state, with no real attempt on the part of any responsible authority to check or control it except in rare instances. The prevailing urban population intensifies the evil and increases the problem.

A MODEL STREET TRADES LAW*

WILEY H. SWIFT

If I should be asked to draft a model street trades law, good for any and all states, I would decline with thanks. It can't be done. Laws cannot be packed up and sent around like smoking tobacco in tin boxes.

Laws grow like corn, and however well one might do in drafting any law, one would be unwilling to call it a model law—certainly after the day of its enactment. Conditions change from day to day, and besides, what would be a good law for one state would not be a good law for another. Laws of value spring from the social life and historical development of the people—they should never be either forced or grafted.

There are, however, in this matter of street trading, some rather well-accepted standards. You must have been struck with how nearly everyone who has spoken this afternoon agreed with the other speakers as to what ought to be done. You have observed also that those who have spoken have come from different parts of the country. We may therefore conclude that throughout the country there is a rather definite opinion as to who may, and who ought not to engage in street trading.

I may, I think, be permitted to call your attention to another most interesting fact which no one has so far mentioned. The people of towns from ten to one hundred thousand inhabitants are beginning to make observations on their own account, and to feel that something should be done for the regulating of street trades in even smaller cities and towns. They are even beginning to talk in our language. Right now, throughout the country the regulation of child street trading is a vital question. I know of one state child supervising agency that is making an inquiry into this matter

*Abstract of a discussion by Mr. Swift at the Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

at this very time, and is planning to recommend and urge at the next session of the legislature such legislation as, after inquiry and study, it deems wise. We may therefore prepare ourselves to make such contributions as possible in the formulating of street trades laws.

If I were called upon to aid in the drafting of a street trades act for any state, I would suggest that the following features be given careful consideration:

1. No street trading for girls under 18 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 21, and in time I believe that it will be 21 in most of the states.

2. No street trading at night for boys under 16 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 18 and in time it probably will.

3. No street trading by boys under 12 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 14 in all the states, but in states where there is no regulation, or very little regulation, if certain other features, which I am about to suggest, were written into the law, there would be no great necessity for insisting upon 14 instead of 12. We may have to approach the best gradually.

4. The state-wide act should fix minimum standards only. The act itself should carry a provision authorizing any city or town to fix and enforce higher standards if it chooses to do so. The state should hold the local community up to a certain level in child care, but should not hold it back from going higher.

5. Every boy under 16 years of age engaging in street trading should be required to hold a license in the form of a badge, good at most, for not more than one year, and granted by the officer authorized by law to grant work permits under the general child labor law. I see no reason for having two persons or agencies authorized to grant licenses for the employment of children. A badge is in reality a license on display. These badges should be granted only after there has been a proof of age as required by the child labor law, and a lawful certificate of both physical and mental fitness for street trade work. This is, I believe, a new feature. We have been press-

ing the matter of certificates of physical fitness for ordinary employment, but so far as I know, have not insisted upon such certificates for street trading. I see no good reason why such certificates should not be required for street trading and there are many reasons why this certificate should cover mental as well as physical fitness. These badges should be granted upon the condition that they may be revoked, whenever it appears that street trading interferes with the child's health or his progress at school.

If these provisions and this condition were written into the law and properly enforced, it seems to me that a 12-year age limit for street trading for boys would be much better than a 14-year age limit without them.

6. In the discussion I should raise the question of the number of hours of employment. Not much, if anything, has been said upon this question, but it is one that we shall have to meet. The 8-hour standard for children under 16 is now rather well established in ordinary employment.

Schooling, if it is worth anything at all, is work. Going to school is harder than hoeing corn—I have tried both. If a child can stand more school work than is given in the ordinary school day, then we might well lengthen the school day. Schools exist for children, and not for teachers. Whether we should insist upon an 8-hour day only, including the hours of school, I am not certain, but I am very certain that a boy under 16 years of age should not be permitted to go to work selling papers at 6 o'clock in the morning, work until 9 o'clock, go to school until 2:30, and then sell papers until 8 o'clock in the evening. By a little calculation you will see that we thus get a 14-hour day. All will agree that that is too much.

7. Finally, I should seek to have incorporated into the law a provision that any child who is found engaging in street trades in violation of any of the provisions of the law, should be treated by the Juvenile Court as a delinquent, dependent, or neglected child, as the circumstances may show. I would suggest this for two reasons:

- (a) To reach the independent child street trader who has so far, in some states, been almost a person above all law, and

- (b) because more and more we are coming to understand that the Juvenile Court, rather than the criminal, should take cognizance of all matters relating to the welfare of children.

In any state I would content myself with these suggestions and leave to the members of the legislature and other interested organizations and citizens the actual wording of the law. That, I am sure, is the only way by which a fairly good street trades law can be assured for any state.

Not an unoccupied but a well-occupied childhood is the aim of child labor reform.

In a community that is not poverty stricken and that has educational institutions of high grade, with decent employment opportunities for adults, the child-labor situation should be much above the standards set by law. Heroic efforts should be made to keep children in school, to adjust their educational program, and to make continued education profitable and possible, whatever the minimum standards of law may be.—*Miss Tracy Copp, Wisconsin Industrial Commission.*

JUVENILE STREET WORK IN IOWA

SARA A. BROWN

City streets and their relation to the welfare of young children receive consideration by those interested in children's play, work, health, morals, and habit-forming experiences. Child labor in city streets with its accompanying results in terms of child life has challenged students of the subject in the United States and England for a quarter of a century or more. Recent studies deal in the main with street work in large cities and record conditions of which the general public has little or no knowledge. Among such studies are *Child Labor in City Streets*, *Toledo School Children in Street Trades*, *Newsboys of Dallas*, *Newsboys in Birmingham*, and *The Newsboys of Cincinnati*.

The National Child Labor Committee, in contact with children's work in rural communities and small cities, finds that in many localities young children work on the streets under conditions which violate lowest accepted standards for their protection, while in others they do the same kind of work under conditions which compare favorably with best known regulation of child labor. In an effort to find out how effectively street work is regulated and what supervision is afforded young children engaged in it in small cities, we undertook a brief study of juvenile street trades in Iowa. The state has eighteen cities of more than ten thousand inhabitants and a capital rapidly developing the conscience and the conditions of a large city. Iowa has a street trades law, a good compulsory education law and altogether may be considered in many respects a typical mid-western commonwealth with sane, advancing ideals as to what work is suitable for children, safeguarding all against those forms of work which deprive them of education, health, wholesome play, instruction in religious ideals, and strength of character, in other words, against child labor.

We group the findings under three main heads: I. Introduction. (1) The law; (2) the study. II. Statement of findings.

(1) Nature of street work; (2) newspapers' plans for distribution; (3) administration of the law; (4) social status of parents; (5) length of career and earnings; (6) neglect of carriers; (7) lack of supervision; (8) school records of 167 sellers and 70 carriers; (9) records of delinquency; (10) street-workers in the State Training School for Boys.

III. Conclusions.

INTRODUCTION

The Iowa child labor law enacted in 1915 has a section on street trades applying to cities of over ten thousand inhabitants. It designates an age limit of 11 for boys and 18 for girls. Judges of Superior or Municipal Courts may authorize officers to issue permits to boys under 11 years, in exceptional cases. Boys between 11 and 16 may work between the hours of 4 A.M. and 7.30 P.M. during school terms and 8.30 P.M. during school vacations. Administration rests with the Board of Education. Badges are issued by the same officers handling work permits, with the same requirements except filing of employer's agreements. The street trades provision requires (1) a school record certifying that the boy is regularly attending school and that the work will not interfere with his progress in school; (2) a certificate signed by a medical inspector of schools or physician appointed by the Board of Education certifying the boy has reached normal development for a child of his age and is in sufficiently sound health and physically able to perform the work; (3) evidence of age requires: (a) transcript of birth certificate; (b) a passport or transcript of baptismal certificate; (c) a school census record; or (d) in case none of these is obtainable, a physician's certificate. Enforcement rests with attendance officers of the public schools. Violation is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than \$15.00. Whoever furnishes or sells any article to any boy in violation of law shall be fined not less than \$15.00 and not more than \$100.00. Reports are made annually, sometimes monthly, to the State Commissioner of Labor Statistics and specify the number of children licensed for street trades. It is the opinion of the Labor Commissioner and of the Attorney General that final responsibility for securing enforcement of the law rests with the State Commissioner of Labor.

There are 18 cities in the state with a population of more than

10,000. Des Moines alone has more than 100,000; Sioux City and Davenport, more than 50,000; Cedar Rapids, close to 50,000; Waterloo, Dubuque, and Council Bluffs more than 35,000. This report is based on findings in four cities: Des Moines, 126,468; Davenport, 56,727; Cedar Rapids, 45,566, and Mason City, 20,065.* In these cities, in March and April, 1922, there were 1,542 boys licensed for or engaged in street work. Data were obtained from age, grade and attendance records of 167 out of 212 street sellers, 70 out of 573 carriers in Des Moines; from records of former street workers now wards of the State Training School for Boys at Eldora, and reports of the State Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

STATEMENT OF FINDINGS

Nature of Street Work

The nature of systematic street work carried on throughout the state is principally the distribution and sale of newspapers and periodicals. Carriers and street sellers of local and out-of-town dailies, of magazines and periodicals are found in all parts of the state and everywhere an effort of some sort is made to provide badges as required by law. Spasmodic distribution of hand-bills and free samples (such as breakfast foods and washing powders) and the sale of popcorn and paper flowers during county and state fairs or on circus days, are included in the street trades provision, but not at present covered in its administration. Children working in public markets, in shoe-shining establishments, and delivery and messenger boys are subject to regulation under other sections of the child labor law.

Newspapers' Plans for Distribution

Important factors contributing to conditions under which children work, and influencing the officers issuing permits, are newspapers' plans and organization for distribution in downtown streets and to subscribers in their homes. The emphasis placed on street sales and on distribution to subscribers depends largely on the number of people on the streets, the distance of business men and shoppers from their homes, and on means of transportation

* Population figures, Official Register, 1922.

from downtown districts. Papers for distribution on the streets are handled in three ways: (1) through hustlers employed by the paper; (2) through a news agency; or (3) direct with the sellers. Carriers may sell on their routes but always only as a side issue—their first responsibility being to "carry" papers to subscribers. Distribution in downtown places of business and in residential districts by means of carriers is handled in two ways: (1) boys go to newspaper offices where they are given their bundles of papers and where they fold them; (2) bundles are delivered to a corner near the boys' routes by means of a truck or street car. Some papers use both methods, a fourth or more of the boys going to the downtown offices for their bundles. Through the courtesy of circulating managers we visited most of the distributing rooms, when newsboys were present. The rooms vary in size and character from a large, cheerful office on the first floor entered from the street, to dark, dingy basements reached only through narrow stairs from an alley. In a few instances boys are allowed to loaf about the alley spending their time in idleness, smoking cigarettes. In two or three instances they are subjected to swearing and rough treatment at the hands of truck drivers eager to load up and start on their rounds.

An observer of street sales can usually determine which method of distribution predominates in a city by the way boys pursue their sales.

For instance: In Davenport we found it necessary to follow a small boy two blocks, wait while he looked wistfully in a bakery window, went in, bought a cream puff and came out eating it, before we had any opportunity to buy a paper.

One stormy night in Mason City we could find no newsboy on the streets within an hour after the daily was off the press. In Cedar Rapids and Des Moines no matter what the weather, we were besieged at every downtown corner, and two or three times between corners, by from one to five boys eagerly and lustily crying their wares.

Des Moines and Cedar Rapids feature street distribution through hustlers, while Davenport and Mason City pay slight attention to street sales and feature distribution to subscribers in their homes; the former handle street sales through a news agency and the latter direct with a small and uncertain number of boys. News-stands operated by adults are found at frequent intervals in Des Moines.

In Mason City they are found in comparatively large numbers in stores handling books, drugs, and cigars, in barber shops, and real estate offices. Several newspaper men look upon the news-stand as a good business for the owner but not satisfactory for speedy street sales.

The hustler or street man usually advances from street seller and it is said to be practically the only promotion to look forward to. One hustler in Des Moines has been with the same paper twenty years; one in Cedar Rapids seven, another five. Several began as newsboys at five years of age. Two brothers are making their way through high school and college. Among others we find truck drivers, wrestlers, and promoters of boxing matches. Hustlers have entire charge of the boys, and their influence over them depends largely on their own character and ideals and their business methods and attitude toward young children. They frequently believe in using small boys on the streets because they consider *they* made a success. One said, "Take little fellows and they can sell all round the big uns"; another, "Selling papers is a kid's job. When they get nine or ten they are too old."

Hustlers are responsible for estimating the number of papers required for street distribution based on the history of sales at various points. They assign boys to locations according to their ability to handle the number stipulated, instruct them in methods of selling, and promote or demote them as circumstances warrant. They usually require each boy to pay for the total number of papers assigned to his location whether he sells them or not. One hustler explained, "If the order is stuffed, I sometimes take papers back, otherwise, I never do." Payment is made daily, usually after the papers are sold; a few are required to pay in advance.

Anxious to keep favorable locations, newsboys resort to a variety of methods to dispose of the required number of papers. Large boys shove them off on little fellows. Several have a list of friends who "feel sorry for me and buy all I have"; many use small brothers, cousins and friends as helpers, and all cry the most sensational news to attract attention and sales. Discussing with a small boy whether murder made good sales, he replied, "Naw, murder don't go no more." Instances came to our attention of avaricious parents inflicting severe punishment on boys when they took an arm full of papers home instead of a purse full of coins.

Papers employing no street circulator sell direct to the boys for cash. Each boy determines his number and sells regularly or not, as he chooses. Whether he develops sales as a business depends upon him and in no way on the newspaper. A news agency handles all street sales in Davenport. Boys licensed to sell deal direct with the agency, pay in advance for any number they want and make it a regular business or not, as they choose.

Carriers are responsible for papers reaching subscribers on time. The member of the circulating department in charge of carriers usually imposes a penalty of some kind in case a paper fails to reach its destination. It may be a demerit, as in Cedar Rapids, and after a certain number of demerits the boy is dismissed or is transferred to a less desirable route. If no complaints are registered against him during the month he may receive a cash bonus as reward of merit. A cash penalty of 25 cents per paper is required of carriers in Des Moines when the office sends a special carrier to a subscriber. Those required to collect from all subscribers on their routes are held responsible for payments in full. In case a subscriber moves or for any reason fails, the boy pays.

With few exceptions newspapers in the four cities are cheerfully working with local authorities responsible for enforcing the street trades law, and acknowledge that regulation, though faultily administered, makes for more satisfactory work from the standpoint of the paper on the part of the boy.

Administration of the Law

Badges are issued by or under the direction of school attendance officers, who are already responsible for a multiplicity of tasks connected with truancy, work permits, supervision of employed minors, vocational training, taking of school census, and handling so-called delinquents. The letter-head of Des Moines' department enumerates compulsory attendance, employment permits, placement, continuation school, delinquent children, school census, visiting teacher, and newsboys. All these are so persistent in their demands upon the officers' time and thought that street traders are crowded into the background and receive little or no attention. Then, too, officers are usually appointed for reasons other than their qualifications for or training in dealing with intimate and complicated problems of children seeking to enter employment,

their family and home life, requiring as we believe a technical skill, an understanding of children and a deep-seated social philosophy.

In the four cities no perceptible number of children of school age sell on the streets during school hours. As one means of keeping the school spirit high in the community, Davenport discourages boys selling during school hours even on holidays. In Cedar Rapids and Des Moines they sell in rather large numbers during noon hours and on holidays. The half-day shifts in Des Moines high schools make it easy for many to sell during hours they are expected to spend in home study. The majority of the newsboys comply with local requirements and have badges, though many have not.

Emphasis is everywhere misplaced on the *badge* rather than the significance of the permit back of it.

For instance: It is not infrequent in Des Moines for a boy just past his eleventh birthday to rush into the office of the Attendance Department after 3.30 o'clock with a bundle of papers under his arm. Often he is introduced by a boy who has a street badge. To him, it is apparently a very important matter. He must have a badge, and he has the necessary quarter to pay for it, because he *must* sell his papers. The young woman who issues badges accepts the boy's statements of age, grade, height and weight. She then consults the last school census, which is in the same office. If the boy is enumerated there and his age is 11, he goes from the Attendance Office the proud possessor of a metal badge, licensed as a street seller.

The purpose of the law is to insure protection, direction and supervision to young children. The boy's application for a badge is but a beginning and in no sense an end. It should open the way for a thorough inquiry into matters specified in the law, his home life, why he seeks to spend from two to four hours every day working on the streets, to what purpose he will use his earnings, the attitude of his parents, whether the matter has been seriously considered by his family, whether it is necessary or wise, whether he plans to enter permanently the ranks of employed children and with whom he will associate. Unless the badge signifies that the officer has full knowledge pertaining to such matters and is responsible to the community for carefully supervising the boy after he begins work, the value attached to the piece of metal or celluloid, as the case may be, is all out of proportion to its real significance.

The Superior or Municipal courts do not handle requests for

street permits of boys under eleven, with the exception of the Judge of Superior Court in Cedar Rapids, who during the course of one year has asked the truancy officer to issue badges to about 70 boys under the age of eleven years. This is done without an intimate knowledge of all facts in the social history of the child and his family, and in spite of the Judge's personal acquaintance with many of the boys and his keen interest in their welfare, the badge does not insure supervision and protection to the child who wears it.

Officers require the consent of parents before badges are issued, with the exception of those in Des Moines. We talked with mothers there in their own homes, who claimed they did not know their boys were selling papers on downtown streets after school.

Everywhere children as young as six and seven years help older boys as carriers and as street sellers. In Cedar Rapids many as young as six sell on downtown streets. In Davenport and Des Moines several little fellows watch papers while older boys scout about. Others sell for the "big guy" for 25 cents a night or a half of his sales. Many are on downtown streets after 8.30 at night, and in Des Moines on Saturday nights boys ten and eleven were selling as late as 11.30 to after-theatre crowds.

Nowhere is a physician's certificate required except in Cedar Rapids, where private physicians contribute their services to individual children. In Davenport the officer consults the record of the last examination made by the school physician who checks up on them as conditions require. This is likewise true of children receiving work permits. Cedar Rapids and Mason City employ no school physicians. Des Moines has a well-organized system of school clinics with hours elastic enough to take care of all children who attend. Yet for no child entering employment on the streets or elsewhere have these clinics been used this year. Neither are health records consulted, though these are already on file in the ward building.

Several cases came under our observation of children neither mentally nor physically fit for the strain of street work. One is an epileptic with a long history known to medical and social workers; another a puny boy of eleven, whose history is "difficult feeding in infancy and delayed development; subject to convulsions, seizures; diseased tonsils; bad posture; malnutrition; possibly chorea; living in a manner not proper as regards hygiene and diet."

It is just as important to know a child entering employment is sound in body and mind as to know he is not. The Commissioner of Labor states in *Bulletin No. 4*, issued June, 1920, and re-affirms the statement in April, 1922: "Although the law provides for physical examination of children desiring work permits—there is no provision of law authorizing school boards to expend money in payment of physicians' services. The Board may legally hire and pay for services of dentists and nurses but in case of physicians are directed to hire under the provision of the child labor law but they have no authority to pay for services. As a result there is practically no compliance with this requirement of the child labor law."

Social Status of Parents

The popular idea that newsboys support widowed mothers is not true to fact in Iowa or elsewhere. The majority have both parents living; they do not stay in street work for a great length of time, and their earnings are all too meager to contribute materially to the support of a family. Studies in other states show similar percentages. Of 167 street sellers in Des Moines, the social status of their parents follows:

Both parents living.....	83%
Mother only living	9%
Father only living	6%
Both parents dead.....	1%
Unknown.....	1%

Sixteen per cent belong to families receiving some form of social or relief service; 1.2 per cent receive mothers' pensions, and 14 per cent are known to the Juvenile Court.

Length of Career and Earnings

A boy's life as a street seller ranges from three days to three years, and unless he continues in some form of newspaper business, seldom exceeds two years. In Des Moines, one boy, now fifteen years of age, has been selling for nearly 10 years. He makes \$4.00 a week for 6 days of 4 hours each and \$3.00 on Sundays for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. He is the capitalist among his associates. Out of 22

boys, 21 average 30 cents a day; out of 34 selling on a given night in March, 2 made 15 cents; 1, 21 cents; 9, 25 cents; 11, 18 cents; 7, 45 cents. The night was favorable and sales went well.

The following table indicates the share of the sale price accruing to the newsboy:

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of Dailies</i>	<i>Sale Price</i>	<i>Boy's Share</i>
Des Moines.....	2	\$.02	\$.01
Des Moines.....	1	.01	.005
Sunday Edition.....	1	.10	.03
Davenport.....	2	.05	.0175
Out-of-town.....	---	.10	.03
Cedar Rapids.....	2	.02	.01
Out-of-town.....	---	.05 and .10	.03
Mason City.....	1	.05	.03
Out-of-town.....	---	.10	.03

Regular sellers count on making large profits on special occasions, such as elections. Unfortunately large numbers who do not sell any other time, without permits, crowd into streets favorable for sales, and thus deprive regular sellers of profits they should have. Violations of night hours are most common on Saturdays, when the Sunday morning editions with larger money returns are ready for street sales by eight or nine o'clock.

Reliable information is not available as to what use is made of even small earnings, and could not be secured without visits to the homes of a large number of workers. Certain it is that in many cases they are used for spending money in no way directed by parents or any one else. One night an officer kept track of ten boys, the total number selling downtown that night, and found that eight went to movies before they went home.

In 1916 Anna L. Burdick made a study of public school children under 16 years, engaged in the sale and distribution of papers in Des Moines. Her report, published in *Vocational Guidance Bulletin No. 2*, is based on the record of 535 boys. She says: "The greater

number engaged in street trading are 12 years and under. About 75 per cent of the boys are serious about their work. The money they make is over-estimated. The least earnings are five and ten cents per day—the average 30 to 40 cents. Four high school boys earn \$1.10 for their daily sales."

Carriers usually realize larger profits than sellers. Three papers in Des Moines and one in Davenport require carriers to collect from all subscribers on their routes and pay on an average \$15.00 a month, depending on distances, length of routes, number of papers, or collections. The time required averages three hours daily, except Sunday, and an additional three or four hours on Saturday for collections. Other Davenport carriers realize from \$6.00 to \$10.00 a month and carfare, and Cedar Rapids carriers from \$7.00 to \$10.00 a month.

Neglect of Carriers

According to the law, sellers and carriers are required to secure badges and do, except in Des Moines. The middle of March, two hundred and twelve 1922 badges had been issued to downtown sellers in Des Moines, and an average of 150 boys were on the streets every evening except Sunday. At the same time the three dailies reported 573 carriers distributing to subscribers before and after school. The issuing officer and the Attendance Department had no record or knowledge of these carriers. Davenport had issued three hundred and eighty 1922 badges to sellers and carriers; Cedar Rapids 275 and Mason City 102. Invariably the four cities neglect their responsibility for carriers, who often rise early, work long hours, go great distances and carry heavy loads. It is true they work largely in residential districts and do not always go down town for their bundles; that many come from so-called better homes and their parents, perfectly willing for them to have routes, would not permit them to sell on downtown streets. Nevertheless the life of a carrier may be very difficult, especially in cities where early morning papers, either local or out-of-town, are distributed to subscribers at an early hour.

We saw two boys in the State Training School from two very excellent families in the state. Influences which led to their commitment first came into their lives after they began to deliver early morning papers. They got up by an alarm at 4 o'clock, and walked fully a mile for their 100 papers, which

weighed at least 24 pounds. Bottles of milk were the first things they stole and more serious offenses followed.

A paper in Des Moines insures delivery by 6 o'clock in the morning the year round. One hundred ninety-seven boys set alarms at any time between 4 and 5 o'clock; go to designated corners in their neighborhoods where a street car or truck has left the papers; deliver them to subscribers; hurry back home for breakfast; then off to school. These same boys and twenty-one others distribute the evening edition immediately after school, between 3.30 and 6.30 o'clock, and unless delayed are home for the evening meal. The maximum number distributed by one boy for one evening paper is 120, and they weigh 15 pounds by actual weight; for another evening paper, 180, which weighed 45 pounds; for another 225 papers weighing 84½ pounds. Granted they have fairly regular meals, as most do, carriers often begin work at 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, attend school, carry again after dismissal and reach home between 6 and 7 o'clock at night. Not one will admit he retires early.

One carrier, age 12, with a route of 14 blocks, leaves home at 5 o'clock, delivers 81 papers in an hour and a half, and after school delivers 87 papers in two hours. During a blizzard last winter he waited for his evening papers until 7.30 only to find they had been sent east instead of west on 18th Street. One morning at 8.30 a boy who had got up by his alarm at 4.30 was still waiting for his papers to arrive, missing school rather than disappoint his patrons.

Again quoting from Anna L. Burdick's study: "36 boys at ----- School reported hours as follows: nineteen were out after 6 P.M.; eight before 6 A.M.; three until 9 P.M.; one (who was six years old) from 4 A.M. to 7 P.M., except during school hours; two from 4.30 A.M. to 7 P.M.; two from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M.; thirty worked in the morning; 353 in the evening; 104 both morning and evening."

Lack of Supervision

Nowhere is there friendly supervision after badges are issued and only very limited contact with the boys in their homes and natural groups. An effort of rather superficial character intended to provide activities for newsboys as a whole, does not meet the

needs of street workers in small cities, where boys are never a comparatively great distance from their own homes.

For instance: Boys in Des Moines selling downtown have little or nothing in common as boy citizens; they do not and should not group together naturally on the basis of their work. The largest number are Jewish; many, Italian; a few, Negroes and the others so-called Americans. About two-thirds are of immigrant families. On the basis of natural grouping as to nationality, religion and race, the Jews, Italians, and Negroes are well organized for religious, social, educational and recreational activities. Every Jewish family is intimately known to the Federation of Jewish Social Agencies, which in various departments stands ready to protect and develop the individual interest of every Jewish newsboy. The Italians have three community centers and the Negroes have three, developing and encouraging recreation and education, each for his own group.

Boys selling on downtown streets should be carefully supervised by some one not primarily interested in the number of sales. They should not find it easy to remain downtown when through with their work, but should go immediately to their homes. If these are not fit places for them, it is the responsibility of the community to see that they are made so, not only for the newsboys but for their brothers and sisters as well. Fully two-thirds of the street sellers in Des Moines come from good homes, and there is no reason why they should linger away from them. Attendance officers are nowhere utilizing or directing possible supervision by volunteer agencies, such as boys' clubs. Spasmodic voluntary effort undirected by trained and competent supervisors is apt to be detrimental rather than beneficial to the boys, their families and the community.

School Records of 167 Sellers and 70 Carriers

Out of the 212 boys "badged" for street selling in Des Moines, we secured school records for 167, through the courtesy of their principals and teachers. Information on file in the Attendance Department was cheerfully placed at our disposal. It is restricted to name, age, residence, parent, height, weight, number of the badge and distinguishing mark. All records of attendance, scholarship and physical examinations are kept in the offices of the boys' principals. Since carriers are not "badged," no list is kept in the

Attendance Department. Each newspaper keeps an up-to-date list of its own carriers, and two or three principals keep track of those enrolled in their buildings. In order to get an idea of the school record of a few of the 573 carriers, we asked principals in different sections of the city to furnish information for those enrolled in their buildings. As a result they made available records for 70 boys distributing papers in residential districts in different parts of the city, which may be considered fairly representative of the 573 total.

Charts 1 and 2 tell the story of sellers and carriers in percentages as to age, grade, attendance and retardation. In estimating retardation, a variation of one year might well be allowed, because ages are recorded in terms of years as 8, 10, etc., rather than date of birth; and because grades are recorded in terms of numbers only, as 7, 8, etc., rather than 7B, 7A, 8B, 8A. If a child begins school at six or seven and takes one year to a grade, he will normally reach the 8th grade at thirteen or fourteen. On this basis, used in many city schools, we computed retardation.

From Anna L. Burdick's report we again quote: "Of the total (535), 12 per cent were reported as failing; of the 104 who work both morning and evening, 50 per cent showed either over age or retardation."

CHART No. 1

Record of 167 Des Moines street sellers for 130 school days (September, 1921 to March, 1922), as to age, grade, attendance, retardation, and promotion

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Days Absent	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent	Pro-motion	Per Cent
10	3	2nd	1	Not any	13.7	Accelerated	33	Promoted during year	90
11	19	3rd	5	5 or less	35.2	Normal	25		
12	33	4th	5	6 to 10	21.	Ungraded	1	Failed	10
13	18	5th	20	11 to 15	11.4	Retarded: 1 yr.	19		
14	14	6th	27	16 to 20	5.	" 2 yrs.	12		
15	12	7th	25	21 to 25	7.2	" over 2 yrs.	10		
16	1	8th	9	26 and more	6.5				
All others			8						

Of eleven sellers absent 26 or more days, seven missed more than $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of school.

CHART No. 2

Record of 70 out of 573 Des Moines carriers for 130 school days (September, 1921 to March, 1922), as to age, grade, attendance, and retardation

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Days Absent	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent
10	1.5	4th	1.5	Not any	18.5	Accelerated	43
11	11.5	5th	1.5	5 or less	28.6	Normal grade	36
12	23	6th	14	6 to 10	28.6	Retarded: 1 yr.	21
13	36	7th	42	11 to 15	10	Over 1 yr.	0
14	21	8th	41	16 to 20	4.3		
15	7	---	---	21 to 25	12		
				26 or more	3		

Of three carriers absent 26 or more days, one missed more than 34 per cent and two more than 22 per cent of school.

Records of Delinquency

Out of 167 boys licensed for street selling in Des Moines, 14 per cent are known to the Juvenile Court. Chart 3 tells the story in percentages as to age, grade and retardation. Court records contain little or no information regarding their occupation unless it is directly related to their offense. Probation officers leave to the attendance officer all matters pertaining to street workers, taking responsibility only in case complaints are filed. The Court has but one probation officer available to make investigations and to supervise from 75 to 80 boys at a time. It is obviously impossible to give satisfactory probationary service to street workers under these circumstances.

CHART No. 3

Fourteen per cent of 167 Des Moines sellers known to Juvenile Court as to age, grade, and retardation

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent
11	9.5	3rd	14	Accelerated	14
12	33	4th	5	Normal	14
13	24	5th	33	Retarded: 1 yr.	23
14	24	6th	14	" 2 yrs.	41
15	9.5	7th	19	Others	8
		All others	15		

Out of 349 boys in the State Training School, April, 1922, thirty, or 8.5 per cent, are street workers from Des Moines. Out of 227

under 16 years of age, 12.8 per cent are street workers from Des Moines. Chart 4 tells the story in percentages as to age, grade, retardation at time of commitment, and nature of the offense on which the commitment was made.

CHART No. 4

Thirty Des Moines street workers in the State Training School for Boys, April, 1922, as to age, grade, and retardation at time of commitment and nature of offense

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent
10	10	2nd	3½	Accelerated	6⅔	Truancy	20
11	10	3rd	6⅔	Normal	17	Stealing	20
12	20	4th	24	Retarded: 1 yr.	30	Ran away	20
13	6⅔	5th	20	" 2 yrs.	13	Stay out nights	6
14	20	6th	20	" over 2 yrs.	33⅓	Incorrigible	9.5
15	17	7th	16	-----	-----	Lareeny	7
16	10	8th	10	-----	-----	Break and enter	6
Over	6⅔	---	----	-----	-----	Bad associations	4
						All others	7.5

Mrs. Burdick's study of Des Moines Juvenile Court records (1916) dealing with pupils up to 16 in attendance at the public school, showed

27 per cent came from the 5th grade
 21 " " " " " 4th "
 17 " " " " " 6th "
 14 " " " " " 3rd "
 21 " " " " all other grades.

The ages of the juvenile offenders she found as follows:

21 per cent were 15 years of age
 18 " " " 14 " " "
 18 " " " 13 " " "
 17 " " " 12 " " "
 26 " " " between 12 and 8 years of age.

The nature of their offenses she grouped as follows:

45 per cent were due to larceny
 25 " " " incorrigibility
 14 " " " due to phases of dishonesty of deliberate criminal intent
 16 " " " petty crime, growing out of gang activity

Street Workers in the State Training School for Boys

We consulted records at the State Training School for Boys at Eldora, in order to determine to what extent the pupils there are recruited from boys engaged in street work. We hoped to confirm the popular idea that selling papers and other merchandise on the streets in small cities universally makes for manly qualities of character, thrift and industry. Through the courtesy of the Superintendent and his staff the record of previous occupations for 349 boys enrolled at the time of our visit were available, and personal histories of 116, or 33.2 per cent, who were formerly engaged in street work. Out of 227 boys under 16 years of age, 101, or 44.5 per cent, were street workers, and of these, 12.8 per cent belong to Des Moines. Chart 5 tells the story, to a slight degree, of somebody's neglect of young street workers in Iowa:

CHART No. 5

Street workers in State Training School for Boys as to number enrolled, age, grade at time of commitment, and nature of offense

Total Population		No. Street Workers		Percentage			
349		116		33.2			
Under 16 yrs.		101		44.5			
227							
Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent
10	13	2nd	8	Stealing	24	Larceny	3.5
11	20	3rd	15	Truancy	20	Sleep out	2.2
12	17	4th	16	Ran away	11	Delinquency	2.3
13	12	5th	16	Incorrigible	10	Forgery	1
14	17	6th	16	Break and enter	8	Cigarette fiend	1
15	13	7th	12	On streets all night	7	Set fire	1
Over 15	8	8th	5	Bad association	4	Hold up	.5
		9th	6	Sex irregularities	4	Idleness	.5
		Below grade	2				
		Unknown	2				
		Out school 3 yrs.	2				

CONCLUSIONS

Street work in Iowa constitutes no uncertain source of danger for young children allowed to engage in it without supervision. Children are not receiving protection which well regulated supervision makes possible. There is no way of measuring accurately how far influences of the street affect them unfavorably or what attitudes are created by street work. But the unquestionable fact that evil results are found in a number of cases in cities, large and small, is sufficient to justify such supervision as will protect all children, as far as possible, from detrimental influences. The spirit of Iowa's Commissioner of Labor is reflected in what he says in *Bulletin No. 4*, "Without purposely making work permit requirements too stringent as to be prohibitive, the prevailing idea is to protect the child in matters of health and education and to check as far as possible undue license in employment of children for the benefit of parents or employers."

Whether children enter street work temporarily as an adventure, or because they want spending money, which their families are either unwilling or unable to furnish, or whether they enter with an idea of permanency, they are too valuable as children and as potential citizens to turn loose on the streets without some one being responsible for them, who is primarily interested in them as children, not as money getters or sellers of merchandise.

Children licensed for street work are apparently neither laggards nor truants in large numbers, although 42 per cent of 167 sellers in Des Moines are retarded and 10 per cent failed to merit promotion. While 13.7 per cent of these same boys did not miss one out of 130 days of school, nearly 30 per cent were absent more than two weeks. School retardation among 70 carriers registers 21 per cent, and while 18.5 per cent did not miss one day of school, nearly 30 per cent missed more than two weeks.

Unquestionably there are sick children working who need the help which careful physical examinations and subsequent treatments would provide. There are children working who are *mentally* sick. As a rule they do not stay long in street work, because they are not able to get along with others and do not "stay put," as one hustler expressed it. Dull or retarded children never should be permitted to work on the streets, because they easily imitate what they see and hear.

There is significant relation between records of delinquency and retardation. Among street workers known to Juvenile Court, 72 per cent are retarded, and of Des Moines' street workers in the State Training School, 76½ per cent are retarded. The age of these so-called offenders is pathetically young. The largest number of one age known to the court are but twelve, and those in the Training School were but twelve when committed. Whether boys known to juvenile courts and those committed to the State Training School work on the street because they are "bad," or are "bad" because they work on the street, it is imperative that our programs for regulation and supervision prevent those with tendencies toward delinquency from entering street trades, and protect all who are allowed to enter, from influences which make for delinquency. Out of 116 street workers in the State Training School, 60 per cent were committed because of stealing, truancy and running away.

Teachers, speaking of the characteristics of individual street workers, frequently use such terms as "listless," "unable to concentrate," "inattentive," "indifferent," "inaccurate," "crave excitement," and "restless." We know street workers are exposed to undue fatigue, to all kinds of weather without regard to health, to sights and sounds for which they have neither understanding nor power to resist. They have little opportunity to learn a trade, they spend their earnings as fancy dictates without direction or instruction, developing a demand for excitement, frequent change, and qualities not known as thrift. No one knows how many children work on the streets because of real economic necessity. We are confident the number is much smaller than the casual observer believes. In the four cities, the only group having accurate information on this point is the Jewish Federation of Des Moines, and a comparatively small percentage of Jewish street sellers there are urged through economic necessity. We are just as confident that no Iowan believes children's earnings can ever cure poverty, but are the beginning of poverty in the next generation.

Then, too, if eight hours is a desirable working day for men and women, how far can any city permit children eleven and younger—for many under eleven work with or without badges—to work four and five hours on the streets, plus five and six hours in school, every day school is in session.

We believe it is desirable to issue badges for street work only

as symbols of permits on file with the issuing officer; that permits, and subsequently badges, should be issued only with the consent and full understanding on the part of the child's parent or guardian, as to hazards of street work, its probable future, nature of the work in detail, character and purpose of those to be associated with the child, and what the probable effect may be on his school work, health and habits. We believe a report in writing should be required from the child's principal as to age, grade, attendance, scholarship, habits of application, the opinion of the principal and his unreserved approval of the child assuming additional work; that a complete up-to-date list of all street workers in his building should be furnished each principal; that a social history of the family be secured along with legal proof of the child's age; that as complete a physical and mental examination as possible be given every child, with authoritative certificates kept on file with the issuing officer.

Even after badges are issued on such basis of knowledge, a failure to furnish adequate supervision may be responsible for immeasurable harm to the young merchants. Some one is needed who shall be free to give all the time required to know each street worker personally—in his home life, his recreation, his school; to know how he spends his time, all details of his street work; to help him make such personal adjustments that all experiences connected with it shall become positive factors in his education. Such a supervisor may be a volunteer or a paid member of the attendance department, but without such supervision a program otherwise effective fails to give adequate protection to young children engaged in street work.

BOOK REVIEWS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR. David Hunter Miller. New York: Alfred Knopf.

The history of international labor relations is so amazingly short that a survey of what took place in the last generation gives a complete outline of its precedents. In this compact little volume David Miller, the legal adviser of the American Peace Commission, describes the progress made in international labor relations from the first Labor Conference in Berlin in 1890 to the Washington Conference in 1919.

The author traces in a concise and lucid manner the change which has occurred during that time in the governmental attitude toward such regulations: how, from an idea that they were far too novel even for diplomatic discussion in the first part of the nineteenth century, the attitude changed to a recognition by the Peace Conference of the right of labor for international protection. Thirty-three years after Bismarck's declaration that international protection of workmen was impossible and impracticable, an International Labor Magna Charta was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. The former tendency toward distrust and obstruction of labor regulations has given way to a tendency toward union, and the international labor movement, instead of being made a movement of hostile classes, has become one looking rather to the progress of humanity than to any group advantage.

The change in the attitude toward child labor, for example, is shown by a comparison of the proposals of the first "International" in Geneva in 1866 with those of the recent Washington Conference.

Mr. Miller emphasises the fact that the present status of international labor relations is bound up with the Labor Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, which provides an international conference of the members of the League of Nations to meet at least once a year. Thus there is established a continuous international parliament of labor, which does not have final legislative power, but which has powers of unrestricted discussion.

Speaking of the constitutionality of the recent federal child labor law, the author points out that in Australia, under a constitution in this respect like our own, a very similar statute was declared unconstitutional by the High Court by a 3 to 2 vote.

He goes on to say, "If Congress, either under the taxing power or under some other power granted by the Constitution, can legislate on the subject of labor conditions in the United States, our own interstate problem of uniformity and progress will have found a solution, a solution, however, delayed under our constitution as long as the solution of the similar international problem which has confronted Europe for the century past.

"Indeed, in view of the constitutional difficulties regarding Federal legislation in the United States, to which I have alluded, it has been suggested that the treaty power of the United States would not extend such international labor legislation as is contemplated by the Labor Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles." Mr. Miller does not believe that this contention is well founded but its mere possibility makes the necessity of a constitutional amendment more imperative.

Anyone who has watched the slow struggles in the United States for state labor legislation will realize what the international adoption of minimum standards for conditions in industry would mean. And how much more difficult it is to regulate international labor conditions than merely to regulate those maintaining in forty-nine homogeneous states. Just as some of the southern states are the backward members of our federation in regard to social legislation, so India and Japan are the backward countries in international legislation; special consideration was given to them at the Washington Conference and must be given them in the future.

Such a study of the history of international regulations of labor clearly foreshadows the inevitability of future international legislation for child welfare. America will, of course, join in cooperating with the labor movement in other countries in that regard, even though she is not a member of the League of Nations.

J. D.

PENOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES. Louis N. Robinson, Ph.D. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

Dr. Robinson, formerly chief probation officer of the Philadelphia Municipal Court, has given us in his volume on Penology in the United States, a useful compilation of facts on past and present methods of handling criminals. There is little discussion of the changing theories involved in these methods, for Dr. Robinson feels that the evolution of the various means of punishment sufficiently illustrates the evolution of the theory. It seems to the present reviewer unfortunate that a volume designed for use as a text-book in colleges and law schools should not have devoted a little more space to the underlying philosophy of a field in which concrete accomplishment is so uneven. The bibliography, however, lists the standard sources of information for those who wish to study further.

Dr. Robinson traces the historical development of the county jail system, the workhouse, the state prison and reformatory, and other forms of punishment including flogging, fining, sterilization, and the use of the death sentence; and he discusses the question of prison labor, compensation of prisoners, probation, and parole. Not the least interesting chapter to the general public, for whose information the book is also designed, is that which deals with the management of institutions. For without good management the physical equipment of any institution counts for little. In the last chapter of the book certain next steps are outlined which, when taken, will go far toward bringing about the scientific treatment of the individual offender which is the dream of the

present-day penologist. They are: the socialization of the criminal court; the extension of probation; the establishment of institutions for special types of offenders; the elimination of jails or places of detention for sentenced prisoners; a flexible system of transfers among institutions; the abolition of the death sentence; and the renewed emphasis upon making the goal of prison administration the development of character.

M. B. E.

PARENTHOOD AND CHILD NURTURE. Edna Dean Baker, M.A. New York: Macmillan Company.

As stated on the jacket of this book, "This volume is written to show parents in how many important ways the discoveries of modern child study may aid them to understand their children better and make a surer success of their bringing-up."

It is a practical, readable and apparently accurate study of child life from birth until eleven years of age; one that any mother, whether she is versed in psychology or not, can read with profit and learn that a child's mind is not guided by adult-conceived principles of behavior.

G. P. W.

THE YOUNG INDUSTRIAL WORKER. M. Phillips. New York: Oxford University Press.

The relation of the Continuation School to the young industrial worker—its mission, function, curriculum, and problems are frankly treated by Miss Phillips, an English Continuation School teacher of six years' experience. The discussion is suggestive and constructive without being dogmatic, authoritative without being pedagogical. The author believes that the Continuation School offers the best corrective of the stunted and abnormal personalities which crude industrial conditions must inevitably produce. The book is made vivid with extracts from letters from her pupils and snatches of themes which are a revelation of the psychology of children in industry.

The lack of self-development of the young worker, the fact that he never knows solitude or has a room to himself at home, his crowd mentality, his aesthetic tastes set for him by the streets and houses in which he lives, makes the whole problem of training the individual in independence of thought a formidable task. The average Continuation School girl lives always in a crowd; she suffers torture if asked to enter a strange room in a factory without a companion or if obliged to walk home from work by herself. To combat this tendency, group work in the Continuation School is strongly advocated.

Social and aesthetic education are discussed with many suggestions as to the ways of stimulating interest and appreciation in the child whose mental instability, lassitude, and lack of concentration are a result of energy exhausted in work. The book is an interesting document in the progress toward an equalization of educational opportunity among all classes of society.

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